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SOME ASPECTS

OF

RELIGIOUS GROWTH

BY

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Approved as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION.

By Edwin D. Starbuck, Fellow in Psychology, Clark University.

II.—Some Aspects of Religious Growth.[1]

The present study is, in part, a supplement to the one on "Conversion."[2] It intends to find how the phenomena before, during, and after conversion are common to the experiences of persons whose growth has not been marked by any apparently sudden break, and to see how far the finished product following conversion and gradual development correspond. It sets out primarily to see what insights into the spiritual life and what laws of growth will come from throwing together several religious biographies, so that their like and unlike elements can be ascertained. The reader will be helped in appreciating the purpose of the study, and in following the long array of facts below, by noting briefly the method used in carrying out the research. It is purely an empirical study of the individual religious biographies at hand. The object was to use them so as to show the sequence of development of each, and at the same time the common and different elements in the various ones. After trying and discarding various ways, a satisfactory one was hit upon. An enormous folding chart was made, ruled horizontally, and also into vertical columns. Without any prepossessions and without wanting to find any particular fact, the first case was scattered item by item horizontally through the chart. The second one was sown along in the same way, but care was taken to bring similar facts under each other. As the cases multiplied they began to form vertical columns of like facts. The columns fell gradually into groups of columns, and new ones were constantly forming. Soon the whole thing had to be torn down and started afresh to approximate the new groupings. After several months' work, 195 condensed biographies had been written underneath each other, with their similar facts in vertical columns. There were finally about fifty columns, each ready to supplement the others. The following pages are intended simply to give as faithful a report as is possible in brief space, of the harmonies and discords among the facts and the glimpses they furnish of spiritual laws. If the research should

[1] Acknowledgments are due President G. Stanley Hall and other members of Clark University for helpful suggestions during the preparation of the article, and especially to my wife, who has been a constant stimulus and has done much of the actual research. The work could not have been successful without the kind coöperation in bringing facts together of several persons. Those who did most were: Dr. John Bigham, De Pauw University; Dr. Frederick A. Gast, Franklin and Marshall Theological Seminary; Professor Elbert Russell, Earlham College; Professor Earl Barnes, Stanford University; Professor Absalom Rosenberger, Penn College; Professor L. A. Williams, New Jersey State Normal School, and Rev. W. G. Thompson, Worcester, Mass.

[2] American Journal of Psychology, Jan., 1897.

contain anything new or of value, it comes principally from the method used. It is simply an attempt to reduce individual opinions and presuppositions to the minimum, and let the facts of human experience speak for themselves. Each fact of experience is trying to reflect the world-forces that produced it. By patiently following up a group of related phenomena, one may be led into a glimpse of the psychic laws in accordance with which they were produced.

The raw material for the research was wholly from autobiographies. A few were found in books complete enough on the religious side to use. The greater number were written directly in reply to printed lists of questions sent out at three different times. The majority were in response to this syllabus:

I. What religious customs did you observe in childhood, and with what likes and dislikes? In what ways were you brought to a condition to need an awakening—faulty teaching, bad associations, appetites, passions, etc.? What were the chief temptations of your youth? How were they felt, and how did you strive to resist? What errors and struggles have you had with (a) lying and other dishonesty, (b) wrong appetites for foods and drinks, (c) *vita sexualis;* what relation have you noticed between this and moral and religious experiences? (d) laziness, jealousy, etc.

II. Influences, good and bad, which have been especially strong in shaping your life:—parental training, works, friends, church, music, art, natural phenomena, deaths, personal struggles, misfortunes, etc.

III. If you have passed through a series of beliefs and attitudes, mark out the stages of growth and what you feel now to be the trend of your life.

IV. Were there periods at which growth seemed more rapid; times of especially deepened experience; any sudden awakening to larger truth, new energy, hope and love? At what age were they? How did they come:—some crisis, a death, meditation, some unaccountable way, etc.?

V. Have you had a period of doubt or of reaction against traditional customs and popular beliefs? When and how did it begin and end, if at all? Have you noticed any relapses or especially heightened experiences? How did they come and with what were they connected?

VI. What motives have been most prominent at different times —fears, remorse, wish for approval of others, sense of duty, love of virtue, divine impulse, desire to grow, etc.? In what ways do your feelings respond religiously to God, nature, institutions, people, etc.?

VII. State a few truths embodying your deepest feelings. What would you now be and do if you realized your ideals of the higher life?

VIII. Age, sex, temperament, church (if any), and nationality.

The number of cases used is 195; males, 75; females, 120. They are largely native-born Americans. Of other nationalities are English, 12; German, 4; Scotch, 3; Irish, 2; and one each of Swiss, Danish, Russian and Canadian. The Americans are pretty generally distributed among the states. The leading denominations are about all fairly represented, and no one far exceeds in numbers. The church connection is not always stated. Those reporting it are: about a score each of Methodists, Friends, Presbyterians and Episcopalians; about half as many each of Congregationalists, German Reformed and Baptists; a smaller number each of the Lutheran, Unitarian, Catholic, Universalist, Jewish, Moravian, Spiritualist

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and Greek Church, and 7 had no church connection. Too large a portion are college-bred for the groups to be entirely representative, though in that and all other respects the class is reasonably satisfactory. All the reports were used except one, which was too vague and imaginative to understand, and a few very fragmentary ones. Without exception they have the stamp of perfect sincerity, and generally of the utmost frankness. Complete reliance was placed on the statement as given by the subjects, so that the facts are their own but for possible distortions from condensation. Fortunately the ages are well distributed, with the exception of the girls between 16 and 19. These outnumber, due, in part, to the large number of returns from the New Jersey State Normal School. The classification, according to ages, is shown in Table I. The determination of age groups is somewhat arbitrary, but not wholly so, as will appear. Those above 40 are scattered along to the 85th year.

TABLE I.

Showing distribution of cases used, according to age.

AGES.	NUMBER OF CASES.	
	FEMALES.	MALES.
16-19,	45	0
20-23 (males, 20-24),	18	21
24-29 (males, 25-29),	18	18
30-40,	19	17
40 or over,	20	19

It should be said in regard to the younger females that their experiences were given in general, as fully and as well as the others, as the result of their constant training in self-analysis. Wherever it would avoid distortion of results the different age groups are considered separately.

Childhood Religion. There is great uniformity among the cases in regard to early training in some of its outward aspects. Nearly all report careful teaching, and the usual customs of attendance on church and Sunday school or family prayer, the evening prayer, or Bible reading, and Bible stories. There are 7 females and 4 males who had no special religious training, and 12 females and 2 males reared under more or less unfavorable conditions religiously.

The most marked feature of childhood religion shown among the subjects studied is the unquestioning way in which they accept the ideas taught in church, Sunday school and home, and unconsciously conform to them. These quotations are typical: *F.*[1] "Had always been taught there was a God, and took it as a matter of course, never doubting my parents' word." *F.* "Said prayers faithfully, but had no real religious experience until 13." *M.* "Went through religious exercises as a matter of course, and with entire faith." *M.* "Simply accepted for truth what my parents and pastor said." *M.* "Tried to experience everything I saw, but generally, I think, with poor success." In this class of instances the element of imitation is more noticeable among girls, and that of obedience among boys. *F.* "Was influenced mostly by the example of those about me and the unselfishness of my parents." *M.*

[1] *F.* signifies female, and *M.* male.

"Believed I must do right because God and mother said so." Expressions showing some form of credulity and conformity *(omitting possible inferences)*, occur in 31 per cent. of females, and 59 per cent. of males.

Incredulity and distrust sometimes begin to show themselves already in childhood. *F.* "Had a secret distrust of God who permitted the sufferings of Christ." *F.* "Father died when I was 6. Prayed he might come back. Prayer was not answered. It shook my faith in prayer." *M.* "In doing wrong I thought God wasn't affected by my puny acts." Five per cent. among both boys and girls.

A similar phenomenon to credulity and conformity is described in such phrases as the following: *F.* "Do not remember the time when I wasn't vitally concerned in religion." *F.* "Think religion began with birth." *M.* "Always felt myself a child of God."

In contrast with credulity is the disposition of the child to act spontaneously in response to its surroundings. The way most frequently mentioned in which this shows itself is in coming into close relationship with God or Christ. *F.* "Asked God to do things on condition that I would do a certain part." *M.* "Always asked God for the most trivial things." *F.* "Felt that God was on my side." *F.* "Told God many things I would not tell my parents." *F.* "Used to use most endearing terms to God, thinking He would be more likely to listen." *M.* "I loved Jesus with all the fervor of a child's heart." *F.* "Had implicit confidence in God's love for me." *F.* "Always asked God to do things for me, and promised Him things if He would answer my prayer." These few quotations suggest that this *rapport* of the child with its supernatural world shows itself variously,—love and trust in God; using Him for its own petty ends; bargaining with Him; and in the sense that God and heaven exist for the child, and are near at hand. The relative value of these is given in Table II.

Fears are common, though fewer than love and trust. *F.* "God was an awful merciless Being." *F.* "The sense that God was watching over me frightened me in the night. I prayed and repeated, 'I am Jesus' little lamb,' and felt secure." *M.* "As child, had terrible fear of hell."

Between love and fear are awe and reverence. *F.* "Was filled with awe when at meeting." *M.* "Thought God was a stern old man."

Likes and dislikes for religious observance are, perhaps, good indications of the beginning of religious feeling. Likes are far more common with girls, dislikes with boys.

The sense of right and wrong germinates early, and is evidently one of the most potent factors in childhood religion. *M.* "Couldn't sleep until I had said my evening prayer." *M.* "As a child, tried to do right always." *F.* "Had no religious training, but prayed a good deal to be made good." *F.* "When 7 I stole some cookies. Worried over it for three days. Confessed to God, wept and prayed. Felt something more was necessary. Finally confessed to mother, and was forgiven."

The relative significance of the facts given above may be seen in Table II.

TABLE II[1]

Showing the relative prominence of some features of childhood religion.

	PER CENT. OF CASES FOR EACH ITEM.	
	Females.	Males.
Credulity, conformity, etc.,	31	59
Religiously inclined from childhood,	16	19
Incredulity,	5	5
Bargaining with God,	4	2
God as talisman,	5	5
God and heaven near at hand,	14	5
Love and trust in God,	17	12
Sum of four preceding—Intimate relationship with God,	40	24
Awe and reverence,	4	7
Fears—of future, of God, etc.,	16	7
Dislikes for religious observances,	9	21
Pleasure in religious observances,	17	7
Keen sense of right and wrong,	22	15

The table is full of suggestions. A few points deserve mention. That credulity and conformity occur in at least about one-half the cases, and intimate relationship with God in about one-third of them, are points of value to the teacher and parent. It was a surprise to find credulity so much more common among the boys than among the girls, and the reason is not very clear. A little light is thrown on it by contrasting it with intimate relationship with God, which is much more distinctively true of the girls. It would seem to indicate that girls are more imaginative, more actively responsive to their surroundings, perhaps more largely directed by feeling and more precocious than boys. Something like this seems to underlie the likes among girls, and dislikes among boys, for religious observances, and that both loves and fears are more characteristic of the girls. Fear is prominent, but less so than love—a fact of great pedagogical value. Awe and reverence, which are often regarded as the highest religious feelings,[2] are conspicuously absent. They appear to develop later, as was probably true in racial history. The budding of conscience so early is an important point. It may be one of the principal lines along which the religious consciousness is to develop.

Some other aspects of childhood religion will come up in the later discussion.

Period of Clarification. Late in childhood, and toward the beginning of adolescence, there is a more or less definite clearing of the religious atmosphere. It appears to be the rule with girls, and

[1] In interpreting tables the reader should bear in mind that the figures only *suggest* the absolute prominence of each item, but are of especial value in marking the relative prominence of related groups. For example, credulity may have been actually present in every case, but was potent enough to have worked itself out in words in only about one-half of the biographies. The figures are the *least* estimate of the value of the separate items. The principle is that of two related facts each is equally liable to be mentioned, if they are equally potent elements in one's nature; and the strongest one more liable to expression. The principle is not necessarily true in specific instances, but as in all scientific work the assumption is that in a large number of cases, errors balance each other.

[2] *Cf.* James Martineau: "Types of Ethical Theory," Vol. II., p. 206.

is frequent among the boys. It is as if the ideas about God and duty, which during earlier years had been external to the child, had now taken root in its life. Heretofore they had been embodied in precept or custom or his own playful imagination. Now they have begun to be his own. Often the growth from within has been unconscious, and the freshly organized little world presents itself to the child as something large and new, and with an emotional accompaniment. The awakening is manifested variously. In putting the instances together, they fell naturally into three groups—a fresh insight involving a distinct rational element; a first hand perception of right and wrong; and an emotional response. These instances illustrate:

Insight. *F.* "One morning when a child coming home from church, as I was walking in at the gate, the thought came to me, 'There is a God.' I had always been taught it, but never realized it until just at that time." *F.* "When 11 I awoke to the realization of deeper truths." *M.* "At puberty I became more serious and rationally conscious." *M.* "When 15, began to realize for myself the importance of prayer, and to feel that God was a spirit."

Moral. *F.* "When 9 the seeds which had been sown began to grow. Did wish earnestly to be good. Would go into lonely places to pray." *F.* "When 10 I became especially good at home and at school. I do not know what made me think so, but I thought God loved me better. It influenced me for good for a long time after that." *M.* "My inward development began at this time, (14), marked by a general clearing up of moral ideas." *M.* "Told a lie when 14 (had done evil things before, certainly). The lie revealed to me my conscience."

Emotional. *F.* "When 11 I had a sudden and violent awakening—a continuous state of religious fervor. Had had a dangerous illness." *F.* "When 10 I had a sense of being saved. My religious nature was awakened, and I felt for myself the need of religion." *M.* "While sitting alone at home one Sunday, thinking of religious duties, I heard a distinct voice within me: 'My son, give me thy heart.'"

Grouping these and similar instances, we have Table III. The gross result is that there is a pretty definite period of clarification

TABLE III.

Showing some facts in regard to religious clarification preceding adolescence.

CLARIFICATION SHOWING ITSELF AS—	FEMALES.		MALES	
	% of Cases.	Average Age.	% of Cases.	Average Age.
Insight	10	12.9	7	(12)
Moral	17	10.6	11	14.1
Emotional	21	10.6	5	(12.2)
Unclassified	3	(9.1)	9	13.7
Sum of above	51	10.9	32	13.2

with at least half the girls and one-third the boys (complete records would doubtless have made the per cents. higher), and that it occurs at about 11 for girls, and about 13 for boys. It is thus seen to be a very common pre-adolescent phenomenon. It is significant that girls first awaken most frequently, and boys least frequently, on the emotional side. The spiritual world of the boys organizes most often as a moral one. New insight is least often the beginning for girls.

The exact age was not always given. This, with the fewness of the cases among males, makes the average ages put in parentheses in the table too uncertain to build on. Taken as a whole, the fact seems substantial and safe that there is a difference of about 2.3 years between the sexes. The ages for girls range from 8 to 16, but mostly from 10 to 12, inclusive; for boys they are more scattering, but fall principally between 11 and 15. Taking the cases of girls in which the exact age was given, they form this series.

Number of cases,	6	7	13	10	10	2	4	3	1
Age,	8,	9,	10,	11,	12,	13,	14,	15,	16.

The year of greatest frequency is 10. Considering the emotional awakenings alone, which are more distinctively the characteristic of the girls, nearly all the instances occur at 10, 11 and 12. It is clear that we have here a distinct prepubescent fact that wants explaining. There seems to be nothing to supplement it on the physical side. For both sexes it immediately follows a dip in Donaldson's[1] curves of physical growth, and is on the plateau before the greatest increment at puberty. Dr. Gilbert[2] made tests on 1,200 school children in New Haven, Conn., of the changes with age in the ability to perform several tests involving muscular, sensuous and mental discriminations. He finds that "these changes are altogether different from the changes in weight, height and lung capacity." It may be that the physical and spiritual development is supplementary rather than correlative at this point. The increased life-force which accompanies adolescence is probably a tidal wave, on which there are wavelets. If so, this clarification aspect of growth is certainly an interesting premonitory symptom. Dr. Lindley[3] finds the interest in puzzles among boys and girls culminates at 12 years. In Dr. Gilbert's experiments there is also an increased power of discrimination and choice among girls at 12, while there is a falling off of the influence of suggestion at that age. Among boys there is an increment in discrimination and choice at 13, and a corresponding decline in the power of suggestion. These ages coincide fairly with the average ages of the sexes given above. The rapid increment of the curve for female conversions at 11 years,[4] which was explained there as a hastening through religious excitement of the normal age of conversion, may have a truer explanation as falling in line with and reinforcing the principle here set forth. The instances among the males are so few and scattering as to leave it an open question as to whether we have not here a distinctly feminine characteristic.

In the report of the *International Congress für Psychologie*, Munich, 1896, p. 449 *et seq.* J. W. David reports as the results of some

[1] H. H. Donaldson: "The Growth of the Brain," p. 66; Scribner's Sons, New York, 1895.

[2] Dr. G. A. Gilbert: "Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory," 1894, Vol. II, p. 40. Reported also in *Zeitschrift f. Psychol. u. Phys. d. Sinnesorgane*, March, 1896.

[3] Dr. Ernest H. Lindley: AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, July, 1897.

[4] AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, Jan., '97, p. 272; and p. 79 below.

tests on the contents of children's minds that the psychic development does not coincide with the physical. In his research there is an increment on the psychic side at about 11 years.

Adolescence.

The period of adolescence is somewhat naturally marked off by the facts at hand as extending from about the age of puberty to the age of 24 or 25. This agrees also with the common use of the term. Adolescence is undoubtedly the most interesting period from the standpoint of religious development as from every other. It is the great formative period. The youth is stirred by a vast undercurrent of will and emotion, and cross currents which oppose and conspire and bring into bold relief some of the forces at work in the life. The whole religious history of adolescence as it pictured itself in the charts, is too large and complex to grasp except in fragments. Certain aspects of it will be taken up in turn, and they will be seen falling into harmony.

I. *Sudden Awakenings; Deepened Experiences.* The phenomena noticed in the last section are not to be distinguished from those which come all through adolescence, except that they were the beginning, the first awakening to a first-hand experience of religious truth, generally after a credulous and thoughtless childhood. After joining church, or confirmation, or engaging in active religious work, there is often a deepening of feeling, a fresh burst of life, a sudden revival of interest.

These are a few typical instances: *F.* "Father died when I was 15. He was not a church member. Determined I would stand or fall with him. Was hostile to religion. Looked on stoically. Came to the conviction when 17 that I was living far below my ideals. The pressure became too great. A spontaneous emotional awakening came which lasted three months. At end of that time I joined church. The pressure from without and the desire to please mother do not seem sufficient to explain it." *M.* "While walking along a woodland pasture one Sabbath morning (24 years), I experienced an unusual realization of the goodness and love of God. It was the richest moment of blessing that ever came to me." *F.* "I grew up into the simple, strong, pure faith of my parents. When 15 I began to think more of God as a personal element in my life, turning to Him for comfort." *M.* "When attending holy communion at 16, was filled with a wonderful feeling and lifted up to a sense of my duty. It was a spontaneous awakening within me." These instances are almost wholly limited to adolescence. There are a few scattered ones later. There is one instance as late as 55.

M. "Graduated at 45. For ten years practiced medicine. Then, without any definite plan or human purpose, I became an ordained clergyman. It was a new unfolding, in which I had nothing more to do, seemingly, than has the bud in blossoming. Had always felt a slow moving onward and upward." The phenomenon here suggested is very closely allied, in purest instances, to conversion of the milder type. Indeed, had a few of them happened to those accustomed to describe such experiences in evangelical phraseology, they would doubtless have been called conversions. There seems to be no dividing line between the most intense eruptions from sin to salvation, which all would acknowledge to be conversions, and the milder forms of the type we are here considering, which no one would deny fall outside the designation. They form a continuous series. The sudden awakenings shade off into com-

mon experiences, so that it is an arbitrary matter to limit the class. An honest attempt to do so, keeping only the fairly well marked cases, give the following statistical result: Among the females, 80 per cent., and among the males, 68 per cent., record similar experiences. The exact age was not always given. A few persons give two such experiences at different times. In all, there were 88 cases among the females, and 50 among the males, in which the age was given. Their distribution, according to years, is shown in Fig. 1.

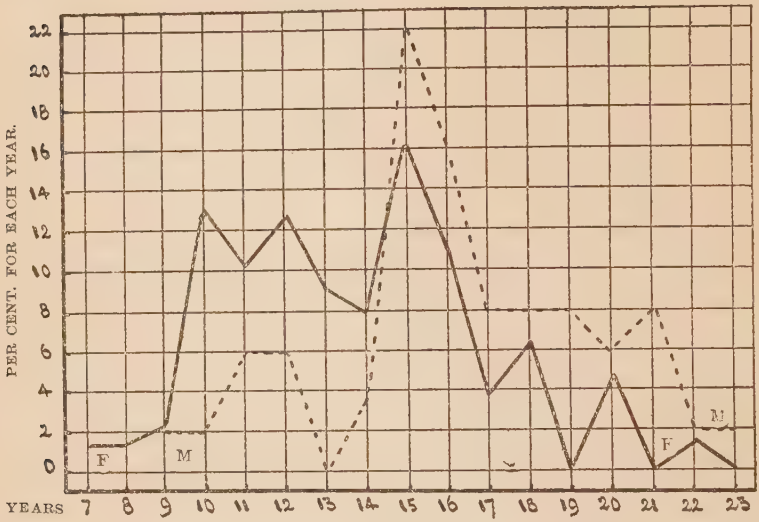

FIG. 1, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO YEARS OF CASES OF SPONTANEOUS AWAKENING, DEEPENED INTEREST, ETC. GIRLS,——; BOYS,.....

Distance to the right indicates the age, and upward indicates the per cent. of the whole number which occur at any given year. Thus, 12.6 per cent. of the awakenings of girls were at 10 years. For both sexes they nearly all fall between the years 9 and 22. There are only a few scattered ones before or after those ages. In both sexes there are more cases at 15 than any other year, and they gradually increase up to that year and decrease after it. Mr. E. G. Lancaster has kindly furnished, from his excellent study of adolescence, just now being published,[1] 110 instances of similar phenomena. Their distribution is:

Number,	3	0	18	14	26	14	16	4	9	3	2	0	1
Age,	10,	11,	12,	13,	14,	15,	16,	17,	18,	19,	20,	21,	22.

They show about the same range, but culminate at 14 instead of 15. This may be due, in part, to the fact that Mr. Lancaster's questions did not lay stress on a distinction between conversion and gradual growth experiences. Many of his cases at 13 and 14 might otherwise have been called conversions. The fact here appealed to may at the same time account for the dip in curve F at

[1] *Pedagogical Seminary*, July, 1897.

13 and 14. This much we may say with certainty, that such *spontaneous awakenings are distinctly adolescent phenomena.*

There is a striking similarity between these awakenings and conversion, both in the average age of their occurrence and in their distribution through the years. Since the study of the age-curves for conversion is new and unsettled, and fresh material is accumulating on it, the reader will welcome a short diversion for a discussion of it. Fig. 2 is the curve for male and female conversions published in the "Study of Conversion" heretofore referred to.

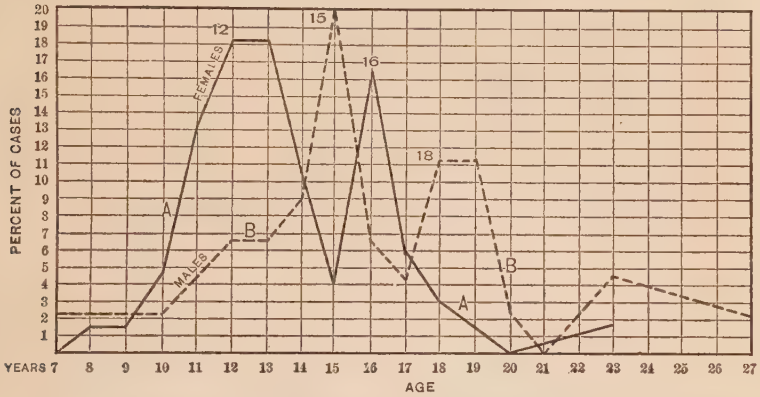

FIG. 2, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF CONVERSIONS FOR BOTH SEXES.

The conversions and spontaneous awakenings are scattered through about the same years. In both curves for females, A in Fig. 2, and the solid line in Fig. 1, there is a sudden rise after 9. If we group the years 10, 11 and 12 in Fig. 1, and call it one hump in the curve, then we have two peaks in each curve at about the same time—practically 12 and 16 in each. The two curves for males, dotted curves in both figures, are very similar, as will be seen at a glance; and both culminate at 15.

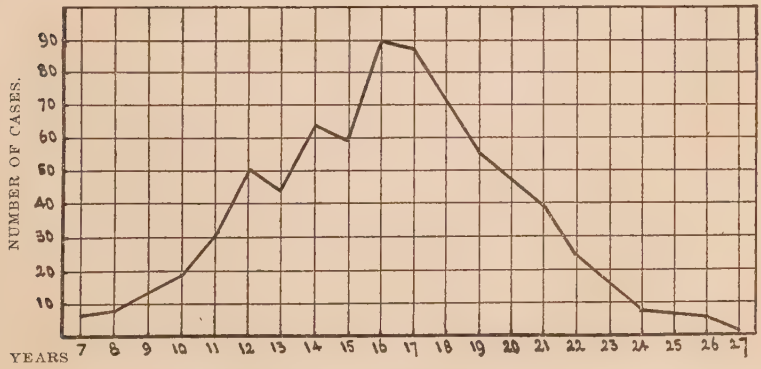

FIG. 3, SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO AGES OF CONVERSION IN CASE OF 776 GRADUATES OF DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Since making the report on conversion, a copy of the *Alumni Record* of Drew Theological Seminary has come to hand, containing the age of conversion of 776 graduates of that institution. Fig. 3 is the curve their ages form. We shall call it T. It is based on enough cases to make it good for Methodist theological students. It is conceivable that it might not be entirely representative for the sex, being the record of persons of a specific kind of early training, and of persons who are afterward ecclesiastically inclined. The youngest graduates were 20. Only a very few were below 25. The probability was the same that any conversion should occur before 20, so that the curve is perfectly reliable up to 20, and pretty good as far as it extends. Curve T culminates at 16,—only a little later than the highest point in curve M of spontaneous awakenings. Curve T has also two bulges at 12 and about 20, which have their correspondence in M. Now, if we place together, as in Table IV., the average ages of spontaneous awakenings from gradual growth experiences and those of conversions, they are remarkably similar The first and fourth items, which grow out of the groups of cases. under consideration, differ by only a fraction of a tenth. It is safe to say that *conversion is not a unique experience, but has its correspondence both in average age and in distribution through the years, in the common phenomena of religious growth.*

TABLE IV.

Comparing the average ages of spontaneous awakenings, conversions and puberty.

	Females. Av. Age.	Males. Av. Age.	Dif. in age.
Spontaneous awakenings, from this study,	13.7	16.3	2.6
Spontaneous awakenings, from Mr. Lancaster,	14.6	15.6	1.
Spontaneous awakenings, both the preceding,	14.2	16.2	2.
Conversion from "A Study of Conversion,"	13.8	15.7	1.9
Conversion from 776 cases above noted,		16.4	
Puberty 700 American girls [1],	14.5		
Greatest increase in bodily growth [2],	13.	16.	

That there is some sort of intimate connection between spontaneous awakenings and puberty, is strongly suggested by the concurrence of the periods. Fresh evidence occasionally appears in the records. *M.* "Was confirmed at 15. Contemplation of the awfulness of sin nearly overwhelmed me. Had one continual struggle with sexual passion." *M.* "At 14 came my first interest in Christianity. When 14 I yielded to secret sin against my body." *M.* "When deeply moved religiously at 16, evil made its appearance. By prayer and faith I withstood it." *M.* "When 14 I had a terrific love affair; (when 14) I conceived a fondness for the Stoics and bought an Epictetus, which I read with interest." The correspondence of the average age of spontaneous awakenings and accessions to puberty is seen in Table IV. The character of curves F and M in some of their minor details suggests some well-recog-

[1] Chas. Roberts: "Physical Maturity of Women," *Lancet*, London, July 25, 1885: and Helen P. Kennedy, M. D., *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1896.

[2] Donaldson: "Growth of the Brain," Chap. II., based on the researches of Roberts and Bowditch.

nized facts of pubescence. For example, one notices how the curve for boys saves itself for the ages of 15 and 16, and rises above everything at that point—just the supposed age of greatest bodily transformation; on the contrary, curve F is even a little slack at 14, and does not rise especially high at any point. On the physical side, we have on the authority of Dr. Bierent,[1] for example (translating freely), "If that stage (puberty) marks an acute and violent crisis among males, in the case of females it is only an agitation. In other words, we say of a girl that her puberty reaches its culmination; of a boy, that his puberty becomes a paroxysm." The correspondence between religious feeling and the age of most rapid bodily growth is shown also in Table IV.[2] Dr. Gilbert's experiments, already referred to, likewise show changes on the psychical side at about this time in each of the nine different tests applied to the children. He says, "In almost all the mental capacities we find a sudden alteration at about the age of 13 to 15." These various phenomena, accession to puberty, most rapid physical development, changes in psychical growth, and spontaneous religious awakenings, are so closely interwoven that we can say with certainty that *they are in some way interdependent, or are expressions of some law of growth on which they mutually depend.*

There is little fresh to say here as to the explanation of the fact of such awakenings farther than was said in the article on the "Study of Conversion." Some of them seem to come in the most unaccountable ways. *M.* "Was reared in a strongly religious family, and was given to religious exercises. Was a bad boy, full of mischief. When 18 I knew I was to be a minister. No one ever told me so. I disliked ministers, and do still [at present a minister]. It wasn't conviction of sin or sense of duty, or anything outward. It was wholly pressure from sources out of sight. I think it was of divine origin." Several "explanations" are conceivable for such cases: a resultant from many antecedents in earlier experience; the unconscious influence of surroundings; the residue of habits of religious observances registering themselves in the nervous system, and finally rising into will or feeling or conscious recognition; a fraction of the world-force presenting itself directly to the intuitions —who knows? Psychology since Herbart has given large place to the "sphere of the subconscious." Physiology is copious in illustrations of "unconscious cerebration." Schopenhauer set going a fresh wave of recognition of the "world as will and idea." Theology describes much that happens as due to the "operation of the Holy Spirit." These are all, doubtless, different ways of saying the same thing. All are equally mysterious, and equally sacred, given only an equally devout attitude toward life—and, one may say, equally legitimate and inspiring subjects for study as to the *way in which they act.*

II. *Double awakening—in the same person at different times.* In 15 per cent. of the females and 13 per cent. of the males, there are two periods similar to the ones we have been describing. They are separated by from 1 to 6 or 7 years, but usually by 3 or 4 years. The intervening period is often one of relaxation or indifference to religion. These illustrate: *M.* "When 11 others were professing

[1] Le Docteur Leon Bierent: "*La Puberté*," Paris, 1896, p. 40.

[2] The reader is referred for farther data on physical growth to "Papers on Anthropometry," published by the American Statistical Association, Boston, 1894; also to Key's meausurements of Swedish children, given in Baumeister's "*Handbuch der Schul-hygiene*," p. 286. Based on 15,000 measurements, he finds the greatest increase in body weight to be at 15 and 16.

conversion. I was strongly moved to take part. Was thought too young to understand. Was much grieved. Lost interest, and had a tendency to seek lively company. Had no more marked religious impressions until 18. At that time I became serious, thoughtful and penitent. Found in a few days there had been quite a change." *F.* "When 12, during a revival, made up my mind of my own accord to leave off my shortcomings and be a Christian without making a public confession. Later was placed in unfavorable surroundings, associated with unbelievers and took up their ways, was indifferent to religion; when 18 changed surroundings. Determined to live higher life. Exemplary life of a teacher had marked influence. Since that time I have lived a changed life." Sometimes the intervening period is filled by doubts. Often it is moving on to a fuller experience, and corresponds to what is termed a 'second experience,' 'sanctification,' etc. *M.* "From 11 to 15 had a determination to do right. Didn't succeed. When 15 the wrong of my course came to me as a firm conviction. By divine aid I left off evil. Up to 20 I struggled with the ideal to be utterly consecrated to the will of God. Feared being called to do missionary work. Tried to enter profession of teaching. Saw it wasn't to be my profession. After a long, hard struggle I gave up my will to God. Since then I have had joy and peace." *F.* "When 12 was much troubled about salvation. Found a book which said that God and not self was the proper object of contemplation. This brought comfort. It was my first real insight and first rush of feeling toward God. When 14 came in love with the ideal of perfect surrender and perfection. Would lie in bed and think just of God, God, God, with much sense of being shut in by divinity." In the case of females, the first experience is on an average at 12.1 years, and the second at 15.4, making a difference of 3.3 years. Among the males, the average of the first is 13.7, and of the second 18.2, with the difference of 4.5 years. This rise and fall in religious interest or activity in the individual seems to correspond exactly to the dip in the curves for groups of individuals. In the conversion curve, Fig. 3, a depression will be noticed in each of them. There is a corresponding trough in each curve in Fig. 1, though it is not so marked in curve M. It corresponds in the individual to the dead period that is often remarked by teachers and parents.

Looking more carefully at the curves, one sees three periods instead of two, which coincides with what one must feel in working through the cases. The first we have already noticed and called the period of clarification. For both sexes it comes at about 12. The five curves in Figs. 1, 2 and 3 each show it. It is weak among the boys, but very pronounced among the girls. The second is at about 15 or 16, where the curves generally culminate. This is the point near their centre of gravity, and corresponds closely with the age of puberty. The third period is a post-pubescent one. It is pretty clearly marked in curves M, F and B. It is suggested in T in the bulge at about 20, and in noticing that the centre of gravity of the curve, 16.4, falls beyond the highest point by nearly half a year. Exactly opposite to the first period it is more characteristic of the boys, while the girls show signs of it. Noticing the general outlines of curves F and A, and leaving out their exaggerations at 15 and 16, they will be seen to gradually descend after 10 and 11, while on the contrary M and B gradually rise up to 18 or 19. Generalizing all of them roughly, they seem to indicate the tidal wave of religious feeling at puberty, with a wave preceding and one following its crest. To make it true for both sexes we may represent the fact roughly by curves G and B in Fig. 4. G would represent

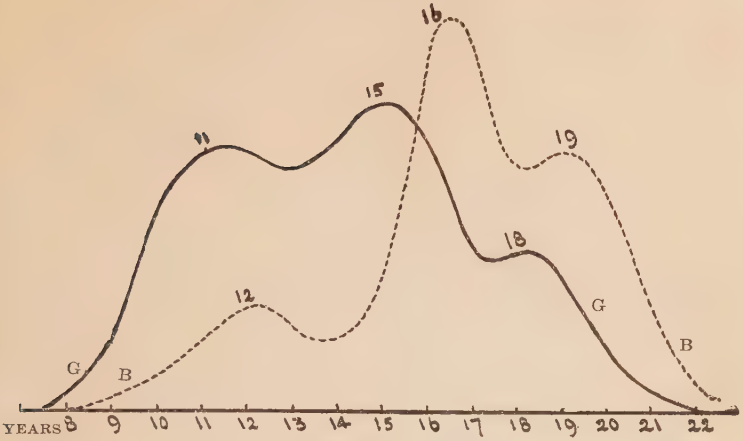

FIG. 4. GIRLS, ——; BOYS, ...

the sudden increase in spontaneous religious phenomena among girls up to 11 or 12, and its gradual decline after puberty. Curve B shows the opposite tendency among the boys. Each curve has three crests. While it must remain simply as a fact of growth—if it proves to hold true as a general law—a few considerations help to understand the curves. That G precedes B, and rises higher at first, is in accord with the facts of childhood religion; that boys are more credulous, while girls react more freshly on their surroundings; the boys conform, while the girls show an emotional response. The girl is perhaps by inheritance the conserver of racial experience which comes to her naturally and early, while the boy has to work his way gradually into it. As will be seen later, the first rise in G is the period when storm and stress of feeling sets in for girls, bringing with it a loss of spontaneity. It is the time when *doubts* set in for the boy, through which he gradually works toward a realization for himself of the content of religion. The later experiences which give the third rise are much more mature and show more insight and spiritual health and vigor than the earlier ones. They seem to *correspond to a period of mental maturity, as the second rise does to physical maturity.* The same thing was observed in conversions.[1] Mr. Lancaster finds a similar fact in his study of adolescence. Dr. Bierent[2] divides puberty into three stages—the premonitory stage, puberty itself, and the succeeding stage. The last follows by a year or so. It is characterized in part thus, translating freely again: "He (the young man) is no longer astonished at his sensations. He reasons about them. His ideas become more serious and his judgment more certain. He is in the perfect blossoming of intelligence and memory." The following two sections will illuminate the curves still farther:

III. *Storm and stress; ferment of feeling; distress; anxiety.*[3]

[1] "Study of Conversion," p. 277.

[2] "*La Puberté*," p. 36 *et seq.*

[3] A research that discusses several of the points given in the following two sections is that by Dr. Wm. H. Burnham: "A Study of Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1891. Many of the points brought out here have additional value only in corroborating his observations with fresh data.

Early adolescence is clearly a time above all others when new forces are beginning to act, new powers to function. They seem to well up out of the sea of the unconscious. They show themselves first as feeling — sometimes as a fresh burst of life, as we have seen, but more often with a pain accompaniment, giving the period that has aptly been termed the "Storm and Stress Period." It is as if the being were struggling to give birth to new ideas and fresh life forces, which it really does do a little later, as we shall see. It is as if the life were being strained or torn by the pent-up winds that sweep it, and which are trying to vent themselves in some way. It is by no means the exception, but the rule for such a period to come. There is a well-marked display of the phenomenon in 70 per cent. of the females and 52 per cent. of the males.[1] It is well to observe in the beginning that females more often undergo such experiences than the males. It is for them, likewise, a more severe and intense period, beginning earlier and is of shorter duration. Putting the storm and stress experiences together and letting them fall into groups according to the way the feeling showed itself, they formed the following groups:

(*a*) The sense of incompleteness and imperfection: *F.* "When 14 I had a pitiable struggle to do what I thought I ought. I often got out of bed and prayed for reconciliation and peace of mind. I struggled and strove to be willing to lead others to Christ." *F.* "From 12 to 16 I lived a sort of up-and-down life. Tried hard to be good. In times of deep trouble I have prayed and prayed in anguish of spirit." *F.* "I suffered for years thinking the joys of religion were not for me." *M.* "From 16 to 20 was a period of struggle. I came upon higher ideals and didn't live up to them even approximately." *M.* "When about 18 I studied and thought long on the question of sanctification. The experience I sought was not in a conquest of marked evil habits, and on the whole was rather vague. Two or three times, with fear and nervous apprehension, I took the start, saying, 'Now I claim as mine perfect holiness;' but I found nothing very different save a trying nervous strain of anxiety and painful scrutiny, lest some shade of thought should prove false my mental claim to perfect sanctification."

The distinction between this heading and the next, the sense of sin, which was noted in the "Study of Conversion" (p. 288), appears here also, and seems to be an important one. The former one contains an active element and implies an incipient constructive moral consciousness.

(*b*) The sense of sin: *F.* "Was extremely nervous and passionate, and lacked self-control. I alternately sinned through weakness, and morbidly brooded over my wicked nature. At times I concluded I never could be good, and might as well not try; then would follow a long fit of remorse." *F.* "When 11 I began to think about the future. Became restless; everything I did seemed to be wrong; then I would make fresh resolves not to do it again." *M.* "When 17 I began to seek salvation. Felt helpless and convicted of sin." *M.* "When 14 I fell in with wayward companions. Was upbraided by conscience. It was a terrible period of life; felt remorseful and convicted of sin."

(*c*) Friction with surroundings: *F.* "Joined church at 14. At 18 I couldn't believe many of the doctrines of the church. Felt

[1] Mr. A. C. Nutt of Ohio State University has published privately a thesis on "The Advantage of Philosophic Training," in which he finds that 67 per cent. of the cases studied had passed through a period of storm and stress.

myself a hypocrite, and often wished I hadn't joined." *M.* "From 13 to 16 I dreaded coming in contact with Christian people; to be compelled to attend family prayer, church and Sunday school was severe punishment. Often felt a voice saying, 'Repent,' but was too stubborn and wouldn't yield."

(*d*) Asceticism: *F.* "From 13 to 15 religious enthusiasm and mysticism ran high. Had read my father's books on the mystics. I practiced fasting and mortification of the flesh. Secretly made burlap shirts and put the burs next the skin; wore pebbles in my shoes. Would spend nights flat on my back on the floor without a covering." *M.* "Didn't enjoy religious observance, yet forced myself to it. As a matter of conscience spent hours each week on my knees."

(*e*) Brooding, depression, morbid introspection: *F.* "Was naturally reticent about religion. At a revival I rose for prayer. Afterwards thought I wasn't a Christian. The pastor talked to me about joining the church—I couldn't talk to him. Went back into my old feeling of unrest, and grew more and more into myself." *F.* "From 13 to 17 I became very morbid; took but little interest in life at all. The cause was probably ill health," *M.* "At 24 fell into morbid hopelessness and unwise self-dissection. Every imperfection was thought a sin." *F.* "Joined church on probation when 12. Went home and cried, for I didn't feel happy. Did everything I could to appease my conscience; read the Bible, told mother everything, put aside my jewelry—felt very solemn and unhappy."

(*f*) Fear of death and hell: *F.* "When 15 began to have a horror of death. I didn't believe in immortality; had almost a frenzied despair at the idea of going out into nothingness. This grew until the idea made life infinitely, wretchedly hopeless to me. Would have become insane, I think, had hope not come." *F.* "From 8 to 17 I had horrid fears of having to live an eternal life."

(*g*) Distress over doubts: *F.* "When 16 the study of history led to disbelief of what I had been taught. All my ideals in life were smashed. Talked with college friends, and we spelled out many things together. Very bitter feeling accompanied it." *M.* "Up to 18 I had tried to weigh the matter of religion with the cool reflection of a judge. Now it loomed up large and some solution seemed imperative. It enlisted my emotions, and the struggle was severe."

(*h*) Connected with effort to control passion: *M.* "At 15 I made a desperate effort to control passion. Prayed and cried, but couldn't resist." *M.* "Had terrible struggles (19) to control passion. Often would as soon have been dead as alive. Was in hell for about two and a half years." *M.* "From 14 to 21 yielded to secret sin. Each time came remorse and prayer for forgiveness. When 21 I confessed publicly having yielded to sin, and determined to confess each time."

A numerical estimate of the part each of these items plays is given in Table V. The table will be misunderstood without a caution. It gives only the relative value of the various headings at the time when feeling reached its highest points in adolescence. That the fear of death and hell, for example, does not appear in the column for males does not mean that they are not troubled with it, but in no case were such fears *central* in the adolescent disturbances among the males. The average ages for the separate items are suggestive. Fears come earliest. The sense of sin is next, and comes earlier than the feeling of incompleteness, which involves a greater element of will and insight. Latest are the struggles with doubts.

TABLE V.

Showing the relative prominence of the ways in which storm and stress manifests itself.

Storm and stress shown as—	FEMALES. Per Cent.	Av. Age.	MALES. Per Cent.	Av. Age.
Feeling of incompleteness and imperfection,	25.	14.3	11.	15.4
Sense of sin, remorse, etc.,	15.	13.	13.	14.
Friction against surroundings,	9.	15.6	16.	13.8
Asceticism,	5.		3.	
Brooding, morbid conscience, etc.,	31.	13.6	6.	15.6
Fear of death or hell,	7.	11.7		
Connected with beliefs,	8.	16.	31.	20.7
Connected with control of passion,			8.	14.3

The per cents. show that the feelings in youth centre principally around the feeling of incompleteness (aspiration after an ideal, etc.), the sense of sin, a morbid sense of right and wrong (brooding, self-analysis, etc.), friction against surroundings, and anxiety over questions of belief. Fear of death and hell is small. It was noticed also that it seldom rose to the surface preceding conversion (p. 285), however much it may have furnished a strong background in the sense of sin. It is a point of first importance to the teacher. There are feelings of a higher order which can be appealed to. Asceticism is almost absent.

The differences between the sexes are so great that they can hardly be considered together. Brooding, morbid sensitiveness and fear almost belong to the females. Females far excel also in the feeling of incompleteness, the struggle after an ideal, while the males are working out their ideals from the side of the intellect, as is seen from the greater anxiety of the males over doubt, apparently as 31 against 8. The same thing is indicated in the greater friction against surroundings among the males, which may indicate the germination of the power to judge and choose. Among the males fears are comparatively absent; brooding is present in small degree; the constructive and rational elements are greater. In the rough this is the greatest contrast that appears. The facts throw great light on the differences of temperament of the sexes. The push up through adolescence of the male appears more constant and persistent. The female agonizes her way, and perhaps loses much energy in the process. The contrast grows, doubtless, out of constitutional differences between the sexes. The storm and stress of the female often clearly grows out of imperfect physical conditions or continues until ill health results, and there is often a strong suggestion that such is the case when not definitely stated. *F.* "Before joining the church at 12 I was very unhappy. When joining church I felt like laughing. As time went on I was sometimes happy and sometimes miserable. Wasn't very healthy." *F.* "These periods are not always aroused by any particular occurrence. It seems they are very often the result of mood." *F.* "Was terrified at the idea of losing faith. I cried and prayed. Couldn't sleep, and lost appetite. Suffered from blues and depression. Night after night I went out into the dark crying out to the life that dwelt in the universe to help me. Felt absolutely aloof

from everything, a broken thing." *F.* "Wandered in darkness and doubt four or five years. Lost health." *M.* "I became thoroughly morbid (13-17). Thought I had committed the unpardonable sin. Was growing fast, and physical vitality was low. Mother was alarmed at my perfectly hopeless spirit. Was substantially in the state of being willing to be damned for the glory of God."

It is not improbable that such experiences may be traceable to racial customs that make for ill health and unhygienic conditions in the present. If so, it suggests an educational question of vast import,—how perfect regimen can be brought most effectually to contribute to spiritual health and beauty. All the facts before us in this section unmistakably raise the question of how the life-forces in youth can be best conserved and utilized.

The average age of the beginning of the storm and stress period for females is 13.6 years, for males is 16.5, which is nearly the same as the average age of most rapid physical development for both sexes. The duration of it is on an average 3.1 and 5.5 years for females and males, respectively. That it should continue longer in the male than in the female is in harmony with most of the other facts we have noticed, and also coincides fairly with the relative duration of "conviction" preceding conversion in the two sexes (p. 285),—roughly, half as long for females in each. The preconversion phenomenon seems to continue only about one-fifth as long,—one among the many indications that conversion is a condensed form of adolescent growth. The distribution of storm and stress through the years, giving the years when it began, is seen below. For the purpose of comparing males and females for the same years, the numbers between 8 and 18—about the first and last years for females—were made out on the scale of 100.

Age,	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Females,	2	2	7	5	21	15	15	5	11	9	4
Males,				4	4	12	28	28	12	4	4

It should be observed that these figures represent the beginning of the period of storm and stress. The similarity of the series for both sexes is strikingly similar to the schematic curves for spontaneous awakenings above. The inference seems to be that *when the feelings begin to assert themselves actively they announce the beginning of adolescent storm and stress.* Such experiences are not confined to the limits set above. Two females have them as late as 30. There are several cases among the males between 20 and 30, and one as late as 50. *M.* "At 50 my despair reached such a height that I could do nothing but think, think of the horrible condition in which I found myself. Like lines converging to a point, so unanswerable questions pressed to one black spot. I only saw one thing—death; all else was a lie. Felt I could no longer live."

The facts which precede bear strong evidence that adolescent storm and stress is due to the functioning of new powers which have no specific outlet. They force for themselves an expression in one way or another. Two of these we have already noticed. The first, a burst of life, a fresh consciousness of a first-hand appreciation of truth, a personal hold on virtue, joy and the sense of well-being. But if there is no channel open for free expression the energy wastes itself against unyielding and undeveloped faculties, and is recognized by its pain accompaniment, distress, unrest, anxiety, the heat of passion, groping after something, brooding and self-condemnation. Looking through the cases we find the next

way for consideration is that in which the energy expresses itself in motor terms, and results in—

IV. *Heightened activity.* This is by no means one of the most common outlets for the stored-up energy of adolescence. Twenty-six per cent. of the females and 20 per cent. of the males, or about one-fourth of all the subjects studied, show a period of marked religious activity. The immediate inference is probably not true that the females are more given to religious activity than the males. The latter seem to have the active element as a constant one throughout youth, while the females, as will be seen, are more apt to fluctuate between activity and feeling. It is no doubt more than a coincidence that the average age of the beginnings of storm and stress and of the period of heightened activity should be exactly the same for females—13.6 years, and about the same as that for spontaneous awakenings. In the case of males it is a half year later on an average—17 years. The distribution through the years is nearly the same as that for the phenomena already noticed. The duration is about 4.5 years for both sexes; occasionally it extends nearly through adolescence; but it is the rule for the person to be overtaken soon by doubts, indifference, or ferment of feeling.

Sometimes, especially among the females, the fresh life shows itself at the very first as deepened interest and activity. *F.* "Began to take an active interest in church since I was 10." *F.* "From 9-16 I was much interested in spiritualism, as my parents were of that belief. I looked on unbelievers as ignorant. When 16 I saw that Spiritualists were no better than any one else, and now am skeptical as to my belief or feeling." *M.* "When 16 religious faith became the all-absorbing interest of my life, and I thought it should be for all men." Sometimes, strangely, the two periods begin nearly together. *F.* "I joined church when 13. Read the Bible faithfully, and studied the discipline. Then my real troubles began." *F.* "When 16 I became ultra-evangelical. Was proud and impetuous, along with self-renunciation. Ascetic tendencies were strong. I thought pleasures were a snare. Was over-humble." Frequently activity seems to come as a relaxation from doubt and painful feeling. *F.* "From 11 to 15 worried over religious problems. Became morbidly sensitive, shy and fearful. When 15 I went away to school. Then came a period of fanaticism. Became horribly and stiffly religious." *F.* "When 10 my anxiety took a religious turn. Books and teaching made me expect conversion. Worried over doctrines. Had imaginings about being one of the non-elect. When 12 I joined church, and became very active in religious work. Had anxiety for the salvation of others, and lived in an odor of sanctity."

In a few cases activity extends throughout adolescence, and seems to take the place of a storm and stress period, even in impulsive and sensitive natures. *F.* "Was impulsive and puritanically conscientious. When 15 was fanatically imbued with Swedenborgianism. Was earnestly and stringently bigoted, dogmatic and self-righteous. Tried to make converts." *F.* "My oldest sister was baptized when I was 10 years old. It inspired me with an entirely new feeling toward the church. Became devoted to it, and was very active. Wanted to be baptized, but mother wouldn't let me, but I was as faithful to the church as ever. Was baptized at 18. They teased me about my religion, but I held my own." The question suggests itself whether it is not highly desirable that youth should be a time of very great activity,—whether the percents representing the prominence of heightened activity and storm and stress, respectively, should not be reversed.

V. *Doubt.* Another aspect of what is working in the adolescent life is reflected in doubt. It is the most common of all the features of youth. Among the cases before us 53 per cent. of the females and 79 per cent. of the males have had a pretty distinct period of doubt, and it is generally violent and intense. These tendencies to doubt do not seem to be exclusively the consequence of any particular kind of training or temperament. They seem to belong to youth. Often they spring up without any apparent cause. It is more often the females than the males who are not able to trace the cause of doubts. *F.* "As early as 11 or 12 dark thoughts would sweep like a nightmare over me without any outward cause. Thought it all a fable which I had been taught about God and heaven." They often suggest connection with physical conditions. *F.* "Have had times of doubt, when I wondered almost if anything were true, and how we could believe it. It would usually come at times when I felt unusually despondent and nothing went right. It would end as soon as I felt better." It is common in both sexes for doubts to work their way quietly from small beginnings. *M.* "When 15 I got hold of a book giving the Egyptian origin of the Moses idea, and the Assyrian origin of Genesis, Chap. I. I thought it skeptical. Did not suspect at the time I had lost faith in anything. At 17, at high school, was growing skeptical, though I did not recognize it at the time. I remember to have suspected the principal of 'doing' his piety as an academic requirement. Later I stood quite outside the Bible." *F.* "After prayer I would repeat slowly, 'For Christ's sake,' wondering what it meant. When 15 I became disappointed in the Bible in not finding beautiful things there. Revulsion came, and I said to myself, 'I don't like the Bible.' I did not allow the thought to grow. When 18 my sister said she did not know whether to believe in Christ or not. I sprang up excitedly and took her to task severely. In a year I doubted as much as she." The occasion of doubt, with males, is most commonly the study of science and philosophy, or books, or new surroundings which awaken new ideas. *M.* "Studied Darwin and Hume. This, with personal failure, led to doubts of the divinity of Christ, the genuineness of the Old Testament, and to the belief that spirit is not separate from matter." *F.* "When 16 I read the doctrine of evolution and 'The Idea of God.' Everything seemed different. I felt as if I had been living all my life on a little island, and now was pushed off into a great ocean. Have been splashing around, and hardly know my bearings yet. Don't see any need for the belief in resurrection."

The most prominent influences mentioned as occasions of doubt are shown in Table VI. The table shows only their relative import-

TABLE VI.

Showing the relative prominence of the occasions of religious doubt.

Occasion of doubt—	FEMALE. Per cent.	MALE. Per cent.
Educational influences,	23	73
Natural growth,	47	15
Calamity (death, misfortune, etc.),	9	9
Misconduct of Christians,	2	3
Unanswered prayer,	7	
Ill health,	12	

ance. Educational influences stand highest for males, while most frequently doubt comes to the females as natural growth—fresh evidence for what was shown in the curves for spontaneous awakenings,—that the female is more the racial conserver, and is impelled by unconscious forces. The fact that unanswered prayer and ill health occasion doubts only among the females is also suggestive.

Turning now to the objects of doubt, we find them to be, principally, those things which have become crystallized into creeds and theologies and passed on by tradition. Considering both sexes together the things doubted in the order of frequency are: the authority or inspiration of the Bible, the divinity of Christ, some attribute of God (as His goodness or justice), His existence, and immortality. This is the order, also, through which the doubts progress usually in the same individual. The variations from it are indefinite, and the number of other objects of doubt is very great. Some of them will be seen in these illustrations: *M.* "When 18 certain educational influences led me to doubt the absolute truth of the Bible. It was a gradual process. By 20 I disbelieved in a personal God. The way was thought out step by step. Stopped prayer because it seemed idolatrous. At 21 stopped Bible reading." *M.* "Intended to enter the ministry. Began the critical study of the Bible under ————. Doubts set in. In practical life also I came to see that what I sought *successfully* was sought under natural law. The next five or six years was a period of constant transition under study and reflection until the supernatural factor disappeared, and by 28 I would have answered the question of God and immortality in the negative." *F.* "At 15 I began to give up faith of childhood point by point, as it would not stand the test of reason. First the belief in miracles went, then the divinity of Christ; then, at 18, metaphysical studies showed me that I could not prove the existence of a personal God, and left me without a religion." *F.* "When 18 I began to doubt the Bible. I read books inclined to increase my doubt. By 19 I ceased to find any firm ground to stand on in Christ's atonement; it didn't seem just or right. I wanted to stand before God with no intercession. Soon a personal God gave way to power—vague, unformed. Sometimes I called it Goodness."

The differences between the sexes, as to the objects of doubts and the way of approaching them, are so great that the males and females demand separate consideration. The line of approach already considered is the customary one for males. They begin with doubts in regard to specific things, and work their way gradually toward doubt of the most abstract and universal conceptions. The females, on the contrary, most often begin by doubting the existence of God, or by lumping everything together and questioning it all at once. For example: *F.* "I had a religious awakening when 12. Two years later I had bitter struggles for my belief. Reason seemed to undermine my faith on every hand. When praying the question continually arose, 'Where is God, to whom I am praying? Who is He?'" *F.* "Joined church at 13. Shortly began to think about God—where He came from, etc. Kept dwelling on it till I almost doubted His existence." *F.* "Joined church at 12. Since then have had many doubts and struggles. Have had the feeling that I didn't really believe what I said I did. This has gradually deepened until I don't know now (17) what I do believe." *F.* "'Doubts began at 20 in connection with the death of a very dear friend. Its form was philosophical agnosticism, beginning in materialism and distrust of traditional faith."

Some of the more important details in regard to the things first doubted are seen in Table VII. It shows only the object on which doubt began. The table shows only the relative prominence of the

TABLE VII.

Showing the relative prominence of the first objects of doubt.

Doubt began in regard to—	FEMALES. Per cent.	MALES. Per cent.
Traditional customs and beliefs (generally specific),	8	25
Authority or inspiration of Bible,	12	20
Divinity of Christ,	5	12
Existence of God,	17	5
Some attribute of God (goodness, justice, etc.),	14	5
Everything,	14	7
Immortality,	5	2
Lives of Christians,	5	2
Special Providence,	8	
Not specified,	12	22

separate objects of doubt. The actual number can be estimated by remembering that there are 64 female doubters and 59 males. The difference between the sexes appears strikingly. The first three items in which males excel are the specific ones. The following ones which are more central and vital, more abstract and general, are more frequently doubted forthwith by the females. It suggests strongly fundamental differences in the mental and spiritual life of the sexes. The woman feels more, has a keener intuitional life, responds in more organic and indiscriminate ways, lives more in the heart of things than man. A definite circumstance or experience is apt to be interpreted in universal terms. The doubts of special providence, for example, which are not mentioned by the males, usually come in connection with personal disappointment or unanswered prayer.

The distribution of the cases of the beginning of doubt, made out on a scale of a hundred, for both sexes gives this series:

Age,	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Female,	12	6	12	14	16	16	10	10	2	4						
Male,		2	2	12	10	7	7	17	10	10	2	5	7	2	2	5

Besides the contrasts between the sexes, which are evident from the series, there are a few points worth noticing, which come out on comparing this with the distribution of spontaneous awakenings. Doubts begin oftenest with the females at 15 and 16, which is after the period of most rapid physical growth. Among the males there are fewer cases at 15 and 16 than just before and just after, which is exactly the contradiction of the curves for both spontaneous awakenings and physical growth. That is, for both sexes the beginning of doubt seems to arise most frequently outside the nascent periods for physical and spiritual activity. There are too few cases to warrant anything more than a tentative con-

clusion, but the indications are strong *that the beginning of doubt corresponds to a period of arrested mental and physical activity.*

A comparison of some of the leading facts of the preceding sections is given in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII.

Comparing some central facts in this and preceding sections.

	FEMALES.		MALES.	
	Av. Age.	% of Cases.	Av. Age.	% of Cases.
Spontaneous awakening,	13.7	80	16.3	68
Heightened activity,	13.6	20	17.	26
Storm and stress,	13.6	70	16.5	52
Doubt,	14.9	53	18.1	79

Noticing first the percents, it should be remembered that spontaneous awakening somewhat overlaps heightened activity. Storm and stress and doubt supplement each other for the sexes, the former being more characteristic of the females, and the latter of the males. In more than 40 per cent. of the cases in both sexes storm and stress and doubt both occur, either at the same time or successively. Of those who have one without the other, 27 per cent. of the females have storm and stress without accompanying doubts, while only 10 per cent. of them have doubts without having them attended with distress; on the contrary 37 per cent. of the males have doubts without the ferment of feeling, while only 10 per cent. have storm and stress without being plunged into doubts. That is, we may say in short that *adolescence is for the female primarily a period of storm and stress, while for the male it is in the highest sense a period of doubt.*

We see from Table VIII and the series preceding it that doubt comes considerably later than the phenomena discussed before. The first three items in the table, spontaneous awakening, heightened activity, and storm and stress are more matters of feeling and will, while doubts involve more of the intellectual element. This points strongly toward the conclusion that the primal fundamental thing—that in which the religious consciousness first begins to show itself actively—is feeling and will; later the intellect is called into activity, and the person begins to analyze, discriminate and reflect. Furthermore, the facts seem to indicate that the process going on, as it pictures itself up to this point, is the birth of individuality. The child who at first showed so much credulity and constructive imagination has become a nucleus of volition, and begins to possess the power of appreciating inherent worth; then comes the breaking away from old lines of habit; the tearing down and reconstructing: these all seem to be steps in the birth of selfhood. That will come out more clearly in the later section as the subjects themselves tell of it.

VI. *Revolt against traditional customs and beliefs.* More than half of those who doubt come a little later to feel themselves quite outside the conventional mould, and to feel a definite antagonism to the beliefs and customs in which they have been nurtured. Leaving out the females from 16 to 19, inclusive, since many of them may have become reactionary later, we find that 35 per cent. of all the females and 47 per cent. of all the males have passed through a more or less definite period of revolt, which continues generally five or six years.

The following is not an attempt to give a classification of the phenomena of revolt, but only to draw a few lines to assist in their description:

(*a*) Revolt is most commonly the natural outcome of doubt, reasoning, analyzing, criticism, which results finally in a philosophical reconstruction that seems to set aside conventional religion. *F.* "Began questioning everything. Popular beliefs seemed unreasonable; studied science when 19. Rejected old beliefs, and find it impossible (20) to come back to them." *F.* "Read (when 19) 'Inquiry Concerning the Origin of Christianity.' It awakened thought; only desire was to know truth. Refused to attend church at cost of a family rupture. Renounced orthodoxy." *M.* "Reared with Calvinistic surroundings. Left home at 18; talked with liberal people; listened to liberal clergymen. It resulted in my conversion from dogmatic tradition. Came to regard tradition as superstition." *M.* "When I began to reason and read books that taught common sense I was disturbed. Ended it by becoming convinced that what I had been taught was false and wrong." This process, largely an intellectual one, is far the most common one among males.

(*b*) Very often the reaction is worked out unconsciously, and comes as a natural growth; or traditional beliefs are felt to be transcended by the individual grasp of truth. *F.* "I joined the —— church when 17. Went to communion once, but my feeling was only one of horror. It seemed heathenish. Never went to church after that, or read the Bible, but prayed much. Believed in holiness, but was horrified at what I saw around me. Still believe (24) that the — church and its doctrines are death to the religious life." *M.* "From 18 to 24 I gave up all the traditional beliefs one by one. Left off Bible reading and attending church. Spiritual growth rather preceded the doubt. Always felt beneath me a strong foundation of truth. It was giving up a weaker for a stronger incentive to virtue." *M.* "The church seemed to be an excrescence which gave the lie to Christianity."

(*c*) Frequently the individual and his surroundings come into antagonism. There is a clash. In the inability of the person to harmonize himself with it, his integrity is threatened and is preserved only by his pitting himself against his surroundings. *F.* "One day while calling at his house, a minister suddenly asked me if I was a Christian. I had a terrible dread of being talked to about religion, and blurted out, 'No!' Was so worried I could not sleep for a long time after that. Was more careless about doing right. Could listen coolly to prayer and see baptism without the least bit of feeling; only felt far away from it all." *F.* "Suffered one bereavement after another, and finally (21) bitterness filled my heart toward the avenging God whom I believed in. I tried sincerely to believe there wasn't a God, as this seemed less wicked than hating Him. For several years I had no religion at all." *M.* "I heard the first indecent story I ever listened to, told by an officer in the church. It was a great shock. It led me to doubt his sincerity and that of every one, the worth of religion, the inspiration of the Bible and the existence of God. I read books against the Bible, talked with irreligious men, studied other religions, read of crimes committed in the name of Christ."

(*d*) The occasion of the reaction is in many instances traceable to ill health. This is true especially of the females. *F.* "All my life has been a struggle with doubt, disease and nervousness, which affected my religious nature. Had nervous dyspepsia, was anxious and thought only of myself. Had a period of asceticism and reac-

tion with no outward cause." *F.* "With a highly sensitive organism, life has been a continual struggle with hereditary tendencies. At times I believe in no future and no God. Such feelings come when my vitality is weak. Within the last three years with physical culture am growing stronger physically and mentally, and life has more meaning."

(*e*) The occasion of revolt often seems to be the pleasure that comes from the sense of freedom. The doubter is inventive and constructive, and delights to feel that he is making his own world and is responsible to no one. *F.* "Didn't think it necessary (24 to 29) for a healthy person in the prime of life to believe in a personal God." *F.* "By the help of mystical writers, the 'Gospel of Divine Humanity' and ——, I passed out of orthodox Christianity into the free atmosphere of thought." *M.* "I perceived that evolution conflicted with current orthodox beliefs, and held to it more strongly on that account."

(*f*) Reaction seems often a physiological necessity in order to gain relaxation from the strain of doubt. *F.* "Had a desire to lead a Christian life. Time after time, until 16, I tried to experience what others said they did. Felt self a hypocrite. After trying over and over I fell into a state of absolute indifference. Could sit through the most serious revival and make fun; thought professing Christians hypocrites." *F.* "After joining church I found that profession of religion hadn't altered my conduct, and I doubted that to which I stood pledged. The well-meant efforts of a friend radically different from myself in temperament made bad matters worse. I decided desperately that I didn't care." *M.* "I didn't believe in the doctrines of the church. Disbelieved in resurrection of physical bodies, a literal hell, an angry God, etc. I professed to believe nothing, though I did believe in God and His goodness." Closely connected with these are the cases in which the person holds aloof in order to see things in their true perspective. *M.* "For a year or two (18 to 20) I stayed away from church entirely, in order not to be influenced unduly by persons." This shades off into the truth-seeking spirit which is willing to stand or fall by personal conviction. *M.* "Began studying Plato's philosophy. Rejected miracles. Accepted conditions and took the consequences."

The feelings accompanying the revolt period are less intense and very different in character from those of storm and stress and doubt. A few typical phrases will suggest the difference. During doubt are these: *F.* "Had a very bitter feeling." *F.* "It was a pitiable struggle." *F.* "I went on groping in darkness." *F.* "Suffered much in silence." *F.* "Chafed against restraint." *F.* "Had a prolonged fit of remorse." *F.* "Prayed in anguish of spirit." *F.* "Was full of mental distress." *F.* "Wrestled for the salvation of others." *M.* "My spirit seemed to be crying out in despair and longing." *M.* "Became morbid. Thought I had committed the unpardonable sin." *M.* "Was in spiritual agony. Health was shaken."

These, on the contrary, represent the feeling during revolt: *F.* "Was gloomy and cynical." *F.* "People said I was getting cross." *F.* "I never think of religious subjects if I can help it." *F.* "I came to a state of desperate indifference." *F.* "On thinking how the world-consciousness might be even blinder and less-organized than my own, I gave up even the search for God, and no longer cared even to die." *M.* "Church got monotonous and meaningless and I stopped going altogether." *M.* "I professed to believe nothing." *M.* "The whole thing seemed hollow mockery. I

began to be disgusted with religion, and gradually dropped religious considerations altogether."

These instances serve to show the different quality of feeling. During doubt and storm and stress the person is wrestling helplessly with forces beyond his control which tend to distract and tear his spirit. It is largely a struggle between the powers that be and the force of his own individual will. During the period of revolt there is less feeling of any kind. There is greater poise. The person has either dropped the struggle, or decided it for the time in favor of his own will. The attitude is that of indifference, or of cynicism and antagonism.

These are sufficient to mark out roughly the general class of reactionary tendencies. Back of it all and central in it all seems to be the growth of the individual life. As this rises to express and assert itself, it rarely finds its own spiritual perspective co-incident with the conventional and traditional one. Then follow friction, a clash, storm and stress, and doubt, as we have seen. The individual feels his own worth. He feels, too, the force of custom and authority. These two things—himself and convention—become set off against each other. A choice becomes necessary. A little less than half allow the scales to tip toward custom, and begin the process of adjustment and reconstruction, as we shall see. A little more than half rebel and hold their own individual point of view. They form the group we have just been considering. As we have seen, it is sometimes a matter of definite choosing, but often it is one of feeling—distaste for surroundings, revulsion through ill health, misfortune, etc. The quality of mind shown during the revolt varies greatly, depending largely, evidently, on temperament—pleasure in it, cynicism, indifference, helpless submission, seeking truth at any cost, etc. How long one remains in this attitude is also, probably, a matter of temperament. A few remain there, and never recover; others are partially constructive and call themselves "agnostic;" the greater number find in the relaxation from the pain of doubt an occasion for getting their bearings, and make it the antecedent of a definite reconstruction.

That something like this is working itself out during adolescence is seen more clearly by the facts grouped in the next two sections. They are an attempt to organize the numerous details which reflect the life forces at work. The facts would say nothing without being organized; they would be even worse than in the raw state if wrongly grouped;—the following organization is the one, after a score or more of attempts, which seems best to bring harmony among the facts.

VII. *The feeling of estrangement.* It is a very common experience for persons in early adolescence to feel themselves set off in some way from others; to think their individual revelations peculiar to themselves; to look on custom and convention as something external to their own experiences;—in short, to borrow a convenient term which Hegel coined, to have a sense of *estrangement* from persons, things, and ideas about them.

Early adolescence is the time, above all others, of the dawning of new powers. The transformation seems as great on the spiritual side as on the physical. The whole being is in a state of change and transformation. It is the time, above all others, when racial and hereditary tendencies crop out. It is then, for example, when hereditary diseases are most liable to appear. As we saw in the study of conversion, it is the time when one is born into the life of the social whole, and when, as we found earlier in this paper, new forces are at work, and function spontaneously, often suddenly and

unexpectedly. On the intellectual side these instinctive impulses correspond to insight. The person once conscious of the fresh life within, everything is judged in terms of it. It becomes the new center around which everything is organized. Herein comes the sense of newness of the individual revelation, and consequently the feeling of estrangement from surroundings. *M.* "I have a strikingly peculiar experience and one you do not see often" [nothing of the kind appeared]. *M.* (When 22 he wrote to his mother) "I am not like common men. I am neither cleverer, nor wiser, nor better than the multitude, but utterly different from them in heart and mind." *F.* "Am different from other people. I have never been a blind follower in thought or deed." *F.* "At 18 I joined the church. In my earnestness I found myself almost alone." *M.* "Religion always seemed to me something being shown to me, and not what I thought ought to be." *M.* "I stood quite outside the Bible doctrine of immortality, and of Christianity and religion generally, until about the present time (27). I was an objective rather than a subjective believer in Christianity."

Often persons feel aloof from conventional religion because they feel it to be inferior to their own, or too far inferior to their ideal. *M.* "Forms seemed mere show and a fetter to individuality (15 to 23)." *M.* "Have not turned against Christianity (25), but have outgrown it. Am glad it exists for a certain class of people who can be reached by it." *M.*, 26. "When I go to church I am repelled by the bigotry of what falsely calls itself the only religion." *M.* "Wouldn't go to Sunday school (14 to 19), because they wanted me to believe things I knew were not so." *M.* "Did not like traditional theology. Felt there was something better." *F.* "I thought Christians slow, stiff and conceited." *F.* "Am satisfied I feel more serene in church than most Christians." *F.* "Felt the form of joining church artificial (13 to 15). Could not talk to mother because she could not understand me." *F.*, 17. "Almost every minister has disgusted me. No one has talked a religion that satisfied me, so I have my own." Many of the subjects show the reform and missionary spirit while in this condition, an earnest desire to bring the rest of the world up to the standard of their high truth. It would be a valuable task to find how many of the world's great reformers received their impulse during adolescence.

On the contrary, it is as common for the Bible, or church, or religious ceremonials and customs to stand for the embodiment of an ideal which the person wishes to reach. *M.* "Fell in with wayward companions (13 to 15). Stopped Sunday school; avoided the society of good people. Was upbraided by conscience; did often wish earnestly to be better." *M.* "Had a period of doubt. Tried to live a strictly moral life. Was harassed by numerous evil, invisible agencies." *M.* "Became painfully aware (13 *et seq.*) of the hiatus between the natural life of a boy and the supposed ideal of a Christian. Spent hours each week on my knees." *F.* "Felt that others had something which I lacked (15 to 17). I, only, of an orthodox race, had no honest desire for what the rest felt." *F.* "All through young girlhood I felt my sister's affectionate nature to be in contrast with my selfishness and shallowness. We were inseparable companions, but she was isolated because she was on a higher plane. *F.* "Was in extreme despair. Felt absolutely aloof from everything, a broken thing." The instances in this last group run into the numerous ones in the storm and stress period, which were described under the heading of the sense of incompleteness. The whole doubt experience seems to imply that which comes out explicitly in so many of the cases; namely, that the germinating

faculties in the adolescent tend to awaken the sense of estrangement, and to make him judge everything by his own individual insight.

The meaning of it will come out more clearly in the next section.

VIII. *Insight during adolescence is in advance of the power to execute.* The numerous impulses that arise during youth, if expressed in some positive way, are not always expressed rightly. Like the individual variations which come in biological evolution, some are in the line of progress and persist, while others are abnormal and constitute evil. With certain natures, adolescence is a time of acting and acting wrongly, of running against a wall and suffering, of sinning and repenting, resulting finally in remorse and lack of self-confidence. *F.* "Everything I did (shortly before 16) seemed to be wrong. Would make fresh resolves not to do it again." *F.* "I alternately sinned through weakness and morbidly brooded over my wicked nature." *M.* "When 16 I broke my standards of right. Felt remorse. Struggled with new ideas. Did wrong and was in despair." This is evidently one element in the differentiation of ideals: the person acts wrongly, and in consequence is thrown back upon himself and realizes the futility of his action. This gives chance for ideals to grow.

Another element which doubtless sets the ideal in advance of present attainment is physical incapacity to act. The person quoted above, who felt the hiatus between the natural life of a boy and the supposed ideal of a Christian, says further: "I was growing fast and my physical vitality was low. Mother was alarmed at my perfectly hopeless condition." *M.* "Felt I was far behind my ideals. Fell into morbid hopelessness." *F.* "At 12 I became serious, and it increased with years. When 16 and 17 was very melancholy and pensive. Thought about the great responsibility of life. Had a desire to act, but was sure of my stupidity and inability. Suffered much in silence." We have seen above that spontaneity on the spiritual side seems to culminate just before and just after the greatest increments in physical growth.

Another element is clearly the duplicity or multiplicity of demands made on the will. Each impulse to act is inhibited by some other or others. The person is left helpless before the greatness and indistinctness of the revelations which come to him. *M.* "Passed through a period of skepticism in which I questioned even the fundamental morals. The experience fostered my natural indecision before action." *M.* "From 15 to 20 I struggled with the ideal of being wholly consecrated to the will of God. Fear of being called to do missionary work stood in the way." *F.* "I thought I ought to undertake grandfather's salvation. For months I was in a pitiable state between fear of him and for him. Prayed for him, but never dared to speak to him." *F.* "To talk to others about their salvation I considered the test of religion. Would write to my cousin and then be afraid to look him in the face."

We have seen that another cause of the heightened insight is contact with broader minds, the study of science and philosophy, and the like. Whatever be the line of approach, the disparity between insight and the power to act is a prominent characteristic of youth. *M.* "I could do nothing but think, think of the horrible condition in which I found myself. Unanswerable questions never ceased pressing to one dark spot, like lines converging to one point." *M.* "Struggling with new ideas caused perplexity up to 21." *F.* "It was hard to do any religious duty (13 to 17). Could not kneel in my room nor pray in church." *F.* "I scarcely dared to think. Was living far below my ideals." *F.* "Made many

good resolutions which would last only a few days." *F.* "Had strongest desire for better life. Would try, and then sink back into the same old attitude. Wasn't satisfied with self, and had the greatest regret I wasn't better."

These facts seem to underlie the whole adolescent experience, and help to illuminate the phenomena of spontaneous awakening, storm and stress, doubt, etc., which were given in the preceding sections. The first factor in it all, certainly, is the increased complexity of life which comes through the germination of new powers and the capacity for new functions. The immediate sequel to that has already been described. The next factor to be emphasized here is the seeing, but not doing; feeling, but not responding by some adequate activity; having an impulse in a certain direction, but seeing it deadened by a lack of vital energy, or through the paralysis of the will under opposing motives. Dr. Lukens[1] finds a period in the 8th and 9th grades in our schools corresponding to the years of about 11 to 15, when there is no improvement in the *ability* to draw, but a heightened *appreciation* of art. Unlike the period of 7 to 8, when the child draws everything with little appreciation of its meaning, the youth has the beginning of the art instinct without the power to execute it. This is the same thing that we find in the religious sphere. Dim, indefinable, irresistible impulses press in on one. They are too large and hazy to find definite outlet. The person is comparatively helpless in the breach between theory and practice, between insight and the ability to act, between appreciation and the power of execution.

The extreme difficulty of bridging the chasm, and the length of time, as we have seen, that the youth is left struggling toward a higher plane of life, seem to belong to the difficulty of learning new things. In the experiments of Dr. Bryan[2] on learning the telegraphic language, he found that each of the subjects learned to receive messages rapidly during the first few weeks of practice. Just before the proficiency required for receiving main line messages was reached, there was, without exception, a plateau in the curve of improvement extending through several weeks—a long period when "the student can feel no improvement, and when objective tests show little or none." Then follows a sudden rise in the curve. "Suddenly, within a few days, the change comes, and the senseless clatter becomes intelligible speech." This brings fresh and well established evidence to what we were trying to picture in conversion. It helps to bring many of the facts in that study and those in this into harmony. The child is born into a social organism, which, with or without his choice, has set certain religious standards that he must attain if he is to take his place as an organic part of it. His adolescent awakening is really a birth into appreciation of the demands which the social whole makes on him. The storm and stress and doubt periods, and the period of "conviction" preceding conversion, appear to be each a time of inefficient effort to apperceive and realize that which is the common experience of mature minds. After some weeks or months in the conversion cases, and some months or years in the gradual growth cases, of striving, building and developing, the new life becomes an immediate possession and a real experience.

The cure for the helplessness that comes with doubt and storm

[1] Dr. Herman T. Lukens, of Haverford College, in an unpublished article, to which he has had the kindness to allow a reference here. The article is a continuation of the excellent researches on Children's Drawings. *Pedagogical Seminary.* Vol. IV.

[2] "Studies in the Physiology and Psychology of the Telegraphic Language," by Wm. Lowe Bryan, Ph. D., and Mr. Noble Harter. *Psychological Review*, January, 1897.

and stress is often found in activity—in doing His will and knowing of the doctrine. *F.* "Had doubts as to the value of prayer. I desired a certain thing very much and prayed for it, simply ignoring my doubts. It wasn't answered, but I have not been troubled since with doubts." *M.* "Passed through a period of doubt. My cure was activity in doing what good I could." *M.* "Have doubted everything but a mother's love and the existence of my poor self. My doubts have somehow been resolved in the stress of trying to live uprightly. Could not carry doubts far while trying to be a good son, student, husband, father and citizen."

One cannot lay it down as a rule that the wise treatment of the youth is to induce activity. We have seen that doing wrong things is often the precipitation of the difficulty. *M.* "Joined church when 15, and felt better. (Had been perplexed with fears.) Confessed self a Christian. Began to awaken to the fact that I was not. For three or four years I sought salvation; felt helpless and convicted of sin. While talking with the pastor, one day, the whole matter cleared up. It was the simple acceptance of Christ." *M.* "I lost sympathy with the doctrines of the church. Afterward tried to come back to it, but failed. Only satisfaction was a real reconciliation to the doctrines of Christ." *F.* "I joined church when 12. Was not so anxious as before, but had the feeling that I did not believe what I said I did." *F.* "Saw that my friends were living far better and happier lives than I. Felt I was living below my ideals. When 17 I joined church. Almost immediately a reaction set in and I regretted the step I had taken. Felt it had not altered my conduct, and I doubted that to which I stood pledged." The determination of the proper course as regards action or inaction during adolescence seems to be an individual matter, and depends on conditions too complex to be stated as a simple principle. More will be said of it later.

IX. *Other elements which take the place of the distinctly religious feelings during adolescence.*

During adolescence there is comparatively little display, as we have seen, of positively religious feelings. There is clearly more of ferment than contentment and evenness of feelings; more of doubt than faith; more of unrest, uncertainty, analysis, or, on the other hand, of willful activity and the disposition to take the control of the universe into one's own hands. We set out next to inquire what is taking place among the life forces,—is there relatively a blank, or are there other lines of interest and activity which persist during doubt and storm and stress? We are able to see clearly that there are elements which continue or which are even heightened during these experiences. The lines of interest easily recognized in the order of their frequency are the moral, intellectual, and æsthetic. *a.* The ethical instinct usually either continues or is heightened during adolescence. Often it is the only thing that remains firm in the midst of chaos. *F.* "Had lack of religious feeling, but prided myself on my humility. Determined to devote life to God's service. Went into Christian work. It seemed more practical than spiritual." *F.* "If I overstepped one thing (10-19), I felt awfully wicked. One night I had a dream of Christ beckoning me to follow Him. Took it to mean I was not doing as I should. Was even stricter after that." *F.* "It was hard to do religious duty (13-17). Bible became uninteresting. Could not bear to see the minister come. But I had a strong sense of duty resting on me." *M.* "While changing beliefs, religion was more a matter of conduct. Went through a rational stage (17-18), when the sense of

duty only was left." *M.* "Passed from old views. Gradually dropped religious considerations altogether (22-26). Led an active life. Religious nature was entirely dormant, but there was an increase in moral and intellectual soundness." *M.* "Was in spiritual agony. Health shaken. My spirit was smitten with such a darkness that only one of all the early faiths remained—'*It must be right to do right.*'"

There are a few instances in which the moral nature is shattered and falls with the rest. *F.* "From 14 to 19 I could not bear to be talked to about religion. Heaven seemed further off than ever. I was more careless about doing right." *M.* "Began to doubt theological beliefs. Went to college. Overthrew ideals of childhood (18-19). Had a period of moral license." *M.* "Had a period of skepticism. Questioned everything. It lowered my ideals unconsciously, or doubled them with lower ones while the higher ones persisted."

b. The intellectual interest is often the absorbing one. It now and then seems to approach a kind of æsthetic or logic. *F.* "When 15, intellectual questionings arose. Became intensely imbued with Swedenborgianism. It was the cold philosophy of his teaching that satisfied my mental needs." *F.* "During the year (19) I read books inclined to increase doubt. Would go out under the stars to think and reason. Contrasted ministers of the Gospel with scientists, and thought the latter more likely to find truth. At present (23) have no settled religious belief. I accept no belief I cannot understand." *F.* "I said, as to something above me, I will never believe one inch beyond what my coldest thinking tells me is most probable." *M.* "For a year or more after 14 the whole matter of religion seemed eclipsed by the desire for intellectual growth." *M.* "Have never been able to supplement my most general conclusions by the mysterious strength of simple faith. Have a keen desire (31) to have a satisfactory rational basis for would-be beliefs." *M.* (15-19), "Cared more about my doubts than the solution of them."[1]

c. The æsthetic interest sometimes either continues or is heightened during doubt and storm and stress. *F.* "From 24 to 29 did not believe in religion at all. Wept over the pathetic in literature; had strong emotions on hearing 'The Messiah,' or Easter music at some great church." *F.* "No religious training. Later I lost the calm and peace of childhood; 15 to 22 had despair at the idea of going out into nothingness. Did not believe in God, immortality or prayer. During this time I had a vague imagination of something beautiful and beneficent in nature. My enjoyment was largely sensuous; flowers, perfumes, music, deep, soft colors, awakened more emotion than any thought of the holiness of God." *F.* "All that religion means to me (17) is kindness and goodness. In music, soulful pieces move me strongly. Chopin's 'Funeral March' seems to grow into me. In nature, our glorious sunsets, the ocean in its vastness, and all scenery on a grand scale, make me believe there must be some divine power." *M.* "Came to stand quite outside religion generally (15 to 22). Natural phenomena were everything to me—health, inspiration and consolation." *M.* "During my doubt period (before and after 20), the love of nature constituted all my happiness. The vast and sublime affected me almost to madness."

A rough quantitative estimate of these factors is given in Table

[1] Dr. Burnham observes, in his article, "A Study of Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary*, Vol. I, that many philosophers have begun their systems during adolescent doubt.

IX. The number of cases in which doubt or storm and stress were present is the basis of per cents. The numbers show the per

TABLE IX.

Showing the actual prominence of certain elements which take the place of religious feeling during doubt and storm and stress.

	FEMALES. Per cent. of Cases.			MALES. Per cent. of Cases.		
	Cont.	Height.	Either.	Cont.	Height.	Either.
Ethical instinct,	18	15	**33**	37	6	**43**
Intellectual interest,	6	15	**21**	24	8	**32**
Æsthetic interest,	7	8	**15**	14	2	**16**
Any one of above without duplicating,			**55**			**63**

cent. of these in which the supplementary elements in question were clearly present. The absolute value of the per cents. is heightened here because most of such statements as are quoted above did not come from a direct question, but were given voluntarily in the general record of experiences.

The ethical factor stands out in greatest prominence, persisting during doubt and storm and stress in at least 33% of the females and 43% of the males. We have already noticed the frequency of the outcrop of the moral instinct in spontaneous awakenings. Here we see it persisting as the skeleton and framework of life when everything else is torn away. It is the first thing to appear when individual life dawns and the last thing to go when one is torn by doubt and perplexity. *The ethical instinct seems to be the great tap root from which the religious nature is nourished.* It is that, probably, which connects the individual most fundamentally with racial life. The prominence of this factor, not to speak of the tone of earnestness and sincerity shown in the adolescent experiences, shows clearly that the freedom and independence claimed by youth is not a demand for the liberty of license, but such freedom as accompanies the grappling individually with one's own problems.

We notice in this table, as in the former one just referred to, the prominence of the intellectual factor in adolescence. The æsthetic element remains, too, a strong factor to which to appeal when faith is low. These all, doubtless, represent demands which must be met in the educational treatment of youth, and should be appealed to in order to help him safely through a most critical and crucial period. Several minor points in the table will reward a glance. The fact, for example, that the factors noticed are usually heightened among females while they merely persist among males, is, perhaps, more than a coincidence.

One of the most significant aspects of the facts above is the evidence that if life forces are not expending themselves in one direction they are probably active in another.[1] Because youth is not

[1] Mr. H. S. Curtis of Clark University is trying to show and making it appear highly plausible that the amount of nervous energy available for use in any given time is fairly constant.

running on evenly and smoothly, we cannot safely infer that there is not growth,—it may be the very best thing that could happen. In fact when we take into account the great frequency of doubt and storm and stress, and view it in the light of the facts given in the last three sections, it suggests that the extreme experiences of youth, with all their unevenness and turmoil, may be the result racially of a survival of the fittest, in which the fittest is he who wrestles in youth with the inextricable mesh of impulses that spring up, and even pauses in despair while the deeper forces of his nature are working themselves out into clearness and harmony.

The Period of Reconstruction.

A turning point almost as distinct in character as that at the beginning of adolescence is one a few years later, which consists in a reorganization, a readjustment, a reconstruction of religious experience. Adolescence is a period of turmoil, of spiritual unrest and often of negation; this, on the contrary, is the beginning of religion seen from within, a positive faith. It consists either in an independent construction of beliefs and faith, or in coming back to old forms and dogmas and putting into them a vital meaning. More frequently it is both; the person has acquired a spiritual grasp and that becomes the basis for apperceiving the vital elements in old doctrines, generally with keen discrimination between their essential and non-essential aspects. These quotations illustrate:

F., 20. "Cannot come back to old beliefs, but I believe I worship as truly as God desires." *F.*, 26. "Am influenced in my own conduct by far higher considerations and nobler ideas of duty than I ever was while I held evangelical beliefs." *M.*, 21. "The struggle is over, but my beliefs do not now agree with all the popular ones." *M.*, 30. "I have come back to a firm belief in God as revealed by the Holy Spirit in Jesus Christ, but I cannot return to the traditional beliefs concerning inspiration, atonement, the person of Christ, election, etc." *F.*, 30. "The terms God, freedom, love and immortality have more meaning to me now than ever before, not so theoretical as a few years ago, but nearer and more real" [from 24 to 29 she was "without a religion"]. *F.*, 54. "I have often thought that if I could come to the Bible as to other books, it would be more helpful. The last year or two it has been more helpful; the illumination which evolution has thrown on some passages will eventually make it a new book for me." *F.* "From 17 to 24 I was constantly awakening to larger meanings of truths heretofore supposed narrow and personal." *M.*, 30. "Have returned to something like the faith of youth, but it is much more spiritualized and liberal in its views." *M.* "Gradually (16 to 20) I lost all my religion but the sense of duty. Then gradually I felt that I hadn't lost much—it all came back to me transfigured. Since the re-adjustment my religious feelings have tended to become stronger and I have put new meanings into old forms."

Omitting the girls between 16 and 20, who are not supposed to have yet completed the reconstruction, we find 42% of the females and 39% of the males who have had experiences similar to those quoted above. Allowing for imperfect records and for difficulty of self-analysis, it is evident that such experiences are very common. They stand in contrast to the facts under section VII above. If we continue the Hegelian terminology we may call this the period of *reconciliation*. To what extent this is a characteristic experience will appear below.

The result of an attempt to classify all the cases with respect to this feature of growth is given in Table X.

TABLE X.

Showing some facts in regard to the trend of religious experience.

	AGE.									
	16–19		20–23 (24)		24–29 (25)		30–39		40 and over.		Sum.
	% of cases.		% of cases.		% of cases.		% of cases.		% of cases.		% of cases.
	F.		F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F. M.
1. Faith reconstructed after doubt and negation.	1.7		2.5	2.7	4.1	10.7	10.8	12.	9.2	13.3	28.3 38.7
2. In process of reconstruction.	3.3		3.3	12.	2.5	4.	.8	1.3	.8	1.3	10.8 18.6
3. Still negative.	10.8		0.	1.3	.8	2.7	.8	0.	0.	.0	12.5 4.
4. Gradual growth without definite reconstruction.	16.		9.	12.	7.	6.7	3.	9.3	6.7	10.7	41.7 38.7
Unclassified.	6.		0.		.8		0.		0.		6.8

The cases fall into four groups. First, those who had got more or less completely outside of religious interests through doubt and reaction, and had finally constructed a belief and faith satisfactory to themselves. Secondly, those who had gained some solid footing and were still making stringent efforts to believe. Thirdly, those who were still negative and reactionary. Lastly, those who had never felt themselves removed from and antagonistic to religious interests, even during doubt and storm and stress. The separation into these groups was of course somewhat arbitrary. That it was not wholly so was shown in the fact that, as in other points of difficult judgment, my wife and I made them independently and found very few doubtful cases. These last are placed in the unclassified list in the table. The value of the table is largely in showing the distribution of the different groups among the various years. It is made out entirely in per cents. of the whole number of cases. As we saw in Table I, the number of cases which fall in the various year-divisions is about the same, with the exception of the females between 16 and 19 inclusive; so the per cents. as given represent fairly, with the exception of the first column, the relative values for the different vertical columns, *i. e.*, for the different year-groups.

Noticing only the column of totals, we see that much less than half the cases, 41% of females and 38% of males, develop so evenly that they do not show a definite tendency to become external to religion at some time in their growth. If we exclude the 16% from this class of females between the ages of 16 and 20, we have for both sexes about a third who belong to this class. That is, if these

are typical subjects, we may say that *about two-thirds of both sexes tend, at some time in their growth, either to rebel against conventional religion, or to find it external to their personal interests.* The gradual process of growth is more characteristic of the females than the males.

Looking now at the year-groups, we see from class one that the numbers increase with years of those who have had a period of definite reconstruction. In contrast with that, the number of those who are still reactionary, or are still in the process of reconstruction, decreases with age. That is, it appears that very few who have stood outside of religious interest at any time in their growth, have not readjusted their faith by, say, the age of 30. That class four—those whose growth is distinctly gradual—should be greater in earlier years, can hardly mean other than that they would have been good subjects for doubt and reaction later. The naïve and simple way in which most of the girls from 16 to 20 gave their experiences, and described them in the phraseology of the prayer-book or catechism, is added evidence. If the table is accurate, and the facts on which it is based are typical, we may safely say that *the common trend of religious growth is from childhood faith, through doubt, reaction and estrangement, into a positive hold on religion, through an individual reconstruction of belief and faith.*

The age at which the reconstruction occurs is generally between 20 and 30. Of those before and after these ages are: of females, one each at 18, 33, and 37; of males, one each at 50 and 55. The age was not always given, but it was evident that the reconstruction generally fell somewhere between the years specified. The average age at which the reconstruction occurred among the females is 24 years; that of the males, omitting the two at 50 and 55 respectively, is 24.5 years. In order to see if this was a separate period or only a continuation of the phenomena of spontaneous awakenings, the numbers of both occurring at the different years were plotted together. They leave almost a blank at 19 and 20, and rise again to greatest frequency at 25. The phenomena are also of quite different character, as will be seen from the quotations already given.

That there is a critical period somewhere in the 20's is also shown by the fact that many of the cases that had perfectly even growth during adolescence, had a turning point at this time: *F.* "When 20 I heard —— impersonate David Garrick. Experienced a swelling and overflowing of life, and joy so keen it was part pain. That high plane of insight has never been lost." *F.* "When 23 I had a struggle with selfishness and came out victorious." *M.* "When 21 I became more serious. Growth, from that time, was less influenced by environment." *M.* "At that time (25) came new insight into the meaning of life." Putting experiences of this kind with those of reconstruction of faith already noticed, it swells the per cent. to 53 for each sex of those who have a pretty distinct turning-point somewhere in the 20's. The average age given above is changed by only a little with the addition of these last. It appears, therefore, *in a majority of cases, that there is a critical period in religious growth, usually between 20 and 30, at which religious truth is apperceived, and takes shape as an immediate, individual possession.* It is a time when the ragged ends of experience are pulled together into a unity; when that which has been objective is now subjective; when that which has been seen from the outside is now lived from within.

So far there seems to be nothing on the physiological side, and little on the psychical, to help explain this turning-point. Neuro-

logically, it may correspond to internal adjustments rather than to any measurable aspects of growth; psychically, it marks the end of the adolescent ferment. The bigotry and willfulness of adolescence become toned down, the unrest and hopeless striving become realized. If the experiments in learning telegraphy, referred to above, do hint a fundamental law of growth involved also in religious experience, this culmination of adolescence is the time when the curve of proficiency suddenly rises and crosses the line which represents the standard of the religious life of the social whole. It may be wide the mark, but it seems possible that this turning-point in question may be an accumulation from racial experience, and represent the time when the individual must leave his tutelage and take his place as a positive unit in society, as husband, or father, or citizen. After the period of reconstruction there is seldom a change in the general tone of the religious life. Then is when, usually, its character is determined, and the pace is set which it keeps throughout active life.

The way of approach to positive religious life from adolescence is frequently clearly marked:

(*a*) Through some sort of activity, sometimes activity of a general kind: *F.* "Had severe struggles through selfishness and jealousy. Family troubles came upon me in full force. I saw I could bear my sorrow only through serving Christ and working for Him. I took a class in Sunday school and sang in the choir. I set up ideals and made great effort to live up to them. My real change in character began at that time." Other instances were given in section VIII under Adolescence. More frequently the activity is of a special kind along the lines indicated in the following three headings:

(*b*) Following up some thread of intellectual insight: *F.* "I knew that an acorn would not come up a beanstalk, and thought that to plant in that belief is as much religion as anything. Came to believe that 'somehow good will be the final goal of ill.' One cannot live without deep religious feelings; they are a legitimate part of one's nature." *F.* "Got hold of the conception of law. Settled the problem of the world in favor of determinism. This brought repose and rest. Gradually ceased to pray for anything external, but only for spiritual perfection. My whole after-life has been a development from this point of view." *M.* "Reaction practically ceased by my becoming convinced that, allowing the Bible equal credit with other sacred writings, it was, as a whole, true; that the religion of Christ was the most potent factor in lifting humanity to a higher plane; that the church was the only organized means of advancing religion; and by seeing fruits of religion in the lives of others." *M.* "Learned to distinguish between the lives of so-called Christians and that of Christ; between imperfections due to Christianity and those due to human weakness. Went to a favorite grove by the river, summed up all my doubts and fears, and Christ was mine again." Others found some organizing principle in science or philosophy. The typical solution seems to be in sifting a large truth which is part error and discriminating out the vital element in it, as in the last one above and in this: *M.* "By 18 I was a skeptic, by 20 an unbeliever. When 21 I came under the instruction of a man who taught me the difference between essentials and non-essentials. He taught me that if I had the mind of Christ within me, and had the spiritual truth of the Bible, it made no difference about Jonah and the whale. He first really led me to Christ."

(*c*) Following the thread of duty: *F.* "One day while musing

despairingly, something stirred within me, and I asked myself, 'Can I not rise once more, conquer my faults and live up to my own idea of right and good, even though there be no life after death? I may yet deserve my own respect here and now. If there be a God, He must approve me.' Was led back straight to religion through moral instincts." *F.* (Severe conflict 16 to 30) "When 30 I heard some sermons on religion as character building. They led me to be the Christian I am now." *M.* "My morals and theology both went at the same time. Came later to see the distinction between them and to have as my only code utilitarian ethics." *M.* "Have outgrown the church. I believe in a high standard of morals. Honesty, morality and integrity are my only watchwords and they are my prayers.

(*d*) Finding the vital element in religion from the side of æsthetics:

F. "The reading of Wordsworth and Keats, and Kant's 'Critique of Practical Judgment,' combined with lectures on Wordsworth and Keats, opened up a new world to me. It showed me that religion was not identical with any church. Felt God to be the great artist of all the outdoor world of which I was so fond. The change of the 'good into the beautiful' became the acceptance of God's law." A good example is found in the deepened insight of one whose growth was gradual. *M.* "(When 22) I drew the picture of a little aspen tree. As I drew, the beautiful lines insisted on being drawn. I saw they composed themselves by finer laws than any known to man. At last the tree was there, and all I had thought about trees, nowhere. 'He hath made everything beautiful in his time' became thenceforward the interpretation of the bond between the human mind and all visible things." The presence of the æsthetic element in the reconstruction is also hinted under the next heading. In the last three paragraphs we see, very naturally, that the way out into the positive religion is along those lines which we found to persist during doubt and storm and stress.

(*e*) The vitality of strength and beauty in a personal life is often the way of approach:

F. (Despair from 19 to 33.) "The chief factors in the change were change of work and love for a little child. By slow degrees came back warmth for other human beings. I became possessed, I have no knowledge how, of a little faith." *M.* "Never felt the emotion of love in any form until 26. A little child 8 years old had fondness for me because I told her fairy tales. Her words were the first expression of tender feeling I ever received that I did not suspect. Could understand God's love better after that." *F.* (Doubt and storm and stress up to 22.) "Heard a grandly benignant man preach on the joy and peace of the Christian life. Felt a hope that it might come to me. Began to pray vaguely but earnestly for faith and a hold on truth. Gradually a sense of the wonderful vitality of the personality of Jesus came to me. His life seemed to be in all things—in civilization, beauty, purity, art and life. Slowly I felt in myself this other Life and Force and Divinity."

(*f*) One of the most common ways of entering on positive religious life is through the surrender of self, and coming to live in more general or universal life. *F.* "Experienced complete resignation and threw aside selfish anxiety about a future life. Got rid of the prison of self and took my stand in the objective universe." *F.* "I came to a point where to go on and live without divine aid was impossible. In a time of sore temptation help came. The simple acceptance of it changed everything. After a year or more of sore distress of mind, religious feeling came back again." *M.*

"My struggle was with independence. I find it easier now since I have submitted completely. My growth has been from purely intellectual religion to acceptance of the Spirit's aid." *M.* "Heretofore (up to 25) religion had been a *personal* matter. The final solution of my difficulty was in recognizing the *social* side of morality and religion. That was a brand new revelation to me." *M.* "The difference, after starting for a higher life, was that God was recognized, while before He was not."

(*g*) Almost, if not quite, central in ending the adolescent experiences is coming to see religion from within. Most of the avenues to positive religion discussed under the preceding headings, seem to be ways leading the person from an external perception to an internal and immediate apperception of the worth of religion. *F.* "I came to see religion as a personal matter and not limited to creeds." *F.* "I gradually came to realize (26) that vital religion is the breath of life to all earnest souls, and is not confined to churches or formulas." *F.* "From my sister I learned (27) that religion is not something tacked on to life. From external observance I passed to subjective life and oneness with Spirit." *M.* "Came to see that to know God is not a matter of the intellect, but that to live is to know Him." *M.* "Came to feel (24) that all dogmatic teaching was a matter of chance and habit; that the life of religion depended on the force of faith, not the terms of it."

To sum up: If our analysis has been accurate, the way out of doubt and storm and stress into a positive faith is in 'doing His will and knowing of the doctrine;' in being faithful to the bits of truth, beauty and goodness which remain firm during adolescence, and finding them to deepen, broaden, heighten and blossom; in catching the force of vital religion as embodied in a personality; in surrendering self and living in the life of the whole; finally, in finding religion to be life which can be appreciated from within as the heart and centre of one's experience.

External Influences.

Up to this point we have been looking for the processes of growth, regardless in large measure of the forces from without which help to determine them. The force of surroundings has constantly been reflected; but it is worth our while, for the sake of equilibrium, to take our point of view for the moment in the external influences and see how powerfully they act in shaping the character of the religious life, and to get a crude notion of the relative worth of these influences in the opinion of the subjects themselves.

Foremost among them are the influences of home life. *F.* "My parents have been the strongest influence of my life, religiously and otherwise." *M.* "Through their teaching and my admiration of their example, my parents have done most to shape my life." *F.* "Mother's influence has led me to be what I am." *F.* "I longed for mother's happy and peaceful look." *M.* "A spiritually-minded wife has been a constant influence for good." *M.* "Was kept steady by reflection on the happiness which so markedly characterized both my parents' and grandparents' homes."

Next in prominence is the influence of a friend or the example of persons whose character is admired: *F.* "My life was influenced most by a bosom friend, whose lofty, noble character put to shame small things in me." *M.* "I had a tendency unconsciously to imitate a friend whom I admired. Some one sinned; I smiled; my friend frowned. I never forgot it." *M.* "Was largely influenced

by a friend. He was one of the truest, purest characters I ever knew. I desired his good will above all else." *M.* "The strongest influence was a girl, now dead, who was a schoolmate. I think she was worthy of worship." *F.* "The sunlight of the real God in my aunt warmed and inspired me." *M.* "My uncle shook me from my lethargy and immorality."

Somewhat less frequent are the influences connected with church life. *F.* "Church has been a second home to me all my life (38)." *F.* "The church has furnished spiritual food and been a rudder and anchor to my life." *M.* "Hearing a sermon led me to devote my life to the ministry."

A brief hint of many others is found in the following: *F.* "Nature calls up religious feelings constantly." *M.* "In reading books I have had a tendency to become like the persons I have read of." *M.* "The study of the doctrines of evolution has added immensely to the Christian plan of salvation." *F.* "Misfortunes have been the greatest influence." *F.* "Hard fortune has developed character and moral courage." *M.* "The sight of wicked people increased my desire to live a religious life." *F.* "I determined not to live as my father was living." *M.* "The death of my father and being thrown on my own resources have had much to do with my growth." *M.* "The death of my brother increased my faith and drew me nearer God."

TABLE XI.

Showing the relative prominence of the external influences which shape the religious life.

External Influences.	% of Cases.		External Influences.	% of Cases.	
	F.	M.		F.	M.
Parents (both),	23	32	Teacher,	9	6
Father,	3	1	Specific writers,	17	17
Mother,	8	6	Science,	3	8
Others in family,	3	1	Art, music, nature, poetry,	8	15
Family life,	2	12	Books (in general),	10	12
Influence of home (total),	*39*	*52*	Deaths,	9	13
A friend,	22	29	Misfortunes or ill health.	9	2
Example of people,	12	13	Personal struggles,	0	9
People (sum of two preceding),	*34*	*42*	Warning from surroundings,	2	5
Church or pastor,	*23*	*29*			

The relative importance of some of the influences mentioned is given in Table XI. It shows the per cent. of cases in which the different items were mentioned. One of the most striking things in the table is that the quiet influences that constantly surround childhood are recognized finally as the most potent; another is that the personal influence is so great in contrast with organized social institutions, nature, etc. One cannot insist too strongly that the

table is only suggestive. The males seem to be more conscious of the force of environment, judging by the larger per cents. in the second column. This might be due simply to the greater patience of the males in giving details. It may, however, fall in line with other facts we have seen, and tend to show that women are more subjective, while men react more on surroundings. In the study of conversion we saw that, in the process of a "change of heart," the subjective forces were greater in the case of males. But we saw, too, that males more often resisted definite, strong influences which were brought to bear. These facts, with those, seem to show that males are more responsive to the milder influences of environment, but more unyielding in the presence of forces which threaten the continuity of their religious lives.

Cases Without Marked Stages of Growth.

Many persons grow so evenly that it is impossible to point out any transition in their development. In such cases there is little to be said of them, often, except, as we shall try to do in the next division of the subject, to indicate in certain ways what the direction of growth has been. It would be exceedingly profitable, pedagogically as well as scientifically, to know just what conditions bring about perfectly gradual growth, as distinguished from that which is tossed by the storms of youth; and to determine which is the most healthy line of growth. While the cases before us have little definite wisdom to offer on the topics, they seem to furnish valuable suggestions in regard to them.

One condition which seems to favor perfectly gradual development is wholesome religious surroundings in childhood. *F.* "Mother taught me to pray at her knee. I always had a whispered prayer that none but God could understand. When I did anything wrong mother required me to seek forgiveness. The change from careless, indifferent childhood to earnest, warm interest in God's work was very gradual, and very natural after the good training I received." *F.* "Mother was patient and gentle with me. Had church and Sunday school associations of the pleasantest kind. Was not taught anything about hell and Satan. Have not changed my childhood phrase, 'Our Father in Heaven,' except to widen the term." *M.* "Had God-fearing parents, and was surrounded with all the influences which go to make godly character. From infancy was taught to believe that I belonged to the Saviour, and that He loved me. My delight in Christian thought and association has never changed with the passing years only to become intensified."

But, as we have seen, nearly all the subjects had religious surroundings in childhood, and many of them point to the spiritual influences of the church and home as factors in shaping their religious life. Many of those who have reacted against religion appear, as far as can be judged, to have had faultless surroundings. *F.* "Had Christian parents. Up to 13 had real enjoyment in leading Christian life and in worship. From 13 to 17 was much troubled with doubts. Grew morbid, cause probably ill health; also that I thought more deeply and began to inquire for myself." *M.* "Was reared in a Christian home and sheltered as closely from evil as one could be. Was taught from the first to regard myself a Christian, and above all to do right and to please God. Stopped going to high school from nervous prostration at 16. Religion was my all-absorbing interest, and I sought to carry it out in practice. Studied and began to doubt. There came a time when I would have answered the questions of God and immortality in the nega-

tive." Instances like these show that careful training in childhood is not sufficient to ensure even development, but that we must look for other conditions.

The cases seem to show that much depends upon temperament. The evidence is such as that hinted in the two quotations just above. The report on temperament in the returns was too scrappy to be of much use. About an equal number, respectively, of the doubt and storm and stress cases, and those whose development during adolescence was even, reported a nervous temperament. There were several more of the gradual growth ones than of the others, who describe their temperaments as cheerful, phlegmatic, equable, quiet or passive. Now it is a well-known fact that with the beginning of adolescence there are marked changes in the circulation. The heart enlarges, the blood-vessels increase, and the blood pressure is heightened. This, it is believed, has much to do with psychical conditions. Lesshaft has gone so far as to make character depend largely on the conditions of circulation.[1] Combine these facts with the evidence shown in preceding pages that the phenomena of adolescence accompany certain physiological states, and we have considerable evidence that we must look to the physical side, in part, for an explanation of these two types of religious growth. Given two persons reared in perfectly wholesome religious surroundings: if one is naturally highly sensitive, and the other phlegmatic, the former is more likely to become restless and reactionary during the strain of adolescence, while the latter may have an uneventful growth. The facts before us are only sufficient seriously to raise the question which wants further investigation.

Another pretty clearly marked condition of gradual growth is that the needs of the child shall be carefully met at every point in its development. A certain amount of freedom and independence in thought and action seems to be a natural and wholesome demand of late childhood. If serious intellectual questionings are met seriously, it appears often that youth is kept steady when otherwise it might rebel. *F.* "I had no religious obligations imposed upon me, but followed my own will. Childhood was a delight. Have had complete faith in God from childhood." *M.* "Traditional theology never appealed to me, but always since a child I have felt myself a child of God. My growth has been even from childhood." *F.* "A Sunday school teacher tried to impress my unworthiness and sin on me, and that I would be lost forever if I was not converted. For three years I waited in misery of mind for the expected conversion. Fortunately, a dear friend explained that unless I had done something very wrong, or had some heathen beliefs to cast aside, all I needed was to make a public avowal of my faith and purpose. Was tremendously relieved. Joined church in a month. Realize more and more my insignificance and God's power and glory." *F.* "As I grew older and read more and was guided and strengthened by parents and teachers, I gradually came to understand what Christianity means, and to trust it. Had religious convictions from childhood. Their influence on me grew as my love and Christian surroundings grew, and shaped gradually my spiritual life."

On the other hand, the cases are numerous which illustrate the lack of wisdom of parents or teachers in sympathizing with the real needs of persons, and the consequent reaction against social

[1] P. Lesshaft: "*De l'éducation de l'enfant dans la famille et de sa signification.*" Paris, 1894.

standards. *F.* "Was pushed by older people into questionable extremes of piety." (Years of revolt followed.) *F.* "My Sunday school teacher tried to get me to join church. When he talked to me it would harden me instantly." *M.* "My parents and teachers impressed upon me that I must believe all or nothing (14). It did not take me long to decide which." *M.* "Could not play or do anything on Sunday. Was compelled to go to church and listen to a preacher who left the impression on my mind of a blue-jay jumping up and down on a limb and scolding at me. Was compelled to read Jeremy Taylor's 'Memoirs' every Sunday. Had an utter loathing for it. Every touch of religion was paralyzing as they forced it on me and smeared it all over me. It seems now like crusting over the growing, feeding larva with the pupa case too soon." (Reaction and indifference followed from 14 to 26.)

But one cannot lay it down as a rule that freedom in childhood always brings even growth, and that overtraining invariably results in reactionary tendencies. The usual phenomena of adolescence often follow when the surroundings in childhood are natural and free, and even where there is no religious training. *M.* "Was reared in a church-going family, and accepted the beliefs of my parents as far as I understood them. Father was rather liberal and gave us freedom. When 15 the problem of religion loomed up large, and some solution seemed imperative. The struggle was severe." *F.* "Had no religious training of any kind. Went to Sunday school occasionally, but no religious feeling was aroused by it. Still, I had a religion of my own and prayed a good deal to be made good. Later, as a young girl, I began to have a horror of death. When 22 the despair at the idea of going out into nothingness made life infinitely, wretchedly hopeless to me. Would have become insane, I think, had hope not come." We see again that when the needs of childhood for freedom are apparently well met, even growth is not yet assured. We must go back of that for a part of our explanation; and, as before, the cases bear strong evidence of differences of temperament as partial cause of the different lines of growth.

One reason why the religious lives of many persons develop symmetrically and harmoniously is clearly that there is a proper mixture of faith and doubt continually — a sufficient degree of freedom to question all things to insure a clear horizon, and enough trust and insight and poise of spirit to remain firmly rooted in the heart of religion. *M.* "Doubts (18) were the occasion of giving up weaker for stronger incentives to virtue. Spiritual growth preceded the doubt. I always felt beneath me a strong foundation of truth." *F.* "My growth has been gradual. Beliefs have broadened since I came in contact with people of other faiths. Have come to see good in almost every faith, but have clung to my own church. Have accepted the later ideas of the atonement and the inspiration of the Bible. God is my rock and fortress, and I trust Him." *M.* (Clergyman of an Orthodox church) "Studies have carried me away from some of the old landmarks. I never get excited when I see another one disappearing. I have learned, too, to 'doubt my doubts.' I am an evolutionist." *M.* (Also a clergyman of an Orthodox church) "Have not passed through a series of beliefs. All my thinking has been an expansion of the fundamental conception reached while in college that the death of Christ was a declaration that there never was, nor ever could be, an obstacle between God and man. I always hail doubt as sure to reveal some unexpected truth. As often as I have tried to dodge doubts, I have suffered. My real doubts have always come upon me suddenly and

unaccountably, and have been the precursors of fresh discovery."

A few seem to have an uneventful development because they do not leave the religion of childhood,— perhaps never wake up to an immediate realization of religion. They raise the question whether it would not have been conducive to growth even to have suffered a little on the rack of doubt and storm and stress.

As one wanders through the pros and cons of this section the basal impression they fix is that the proper treatment of children and youths in regard to their religious growth must be a matter determined separately for each individual, depending partially on his or her constitution and temperament. Consequently, whether, in order to attain the highest development, the growth should be perfectly harmonious throughout, or transitional, is yet largely an open question.

The Adult Religious Consciousness.

We may follow up the line of growth still farther by an analysis of the picture the subjects give of their beliefs and feelings at the time of making their records. By dividing them into the different age-groups, and also into groups according to whether growth has been gradual or transitional, we may get some suggestions of value. The three columns of facts that proved most fruitful were the three on beliefs, feelings and ideals—and, of these, the last two.

1. *Beliefs.* It was difficult to organize the column of beliefs so that the organization would be comprehensive and at the same time free from individual opinion. A few things which were safe and suggestive came from taking the three beliefs around which life seemed to centre most frequently, *i. e.*, God, Christ and immortality, and seeing the absolute and relative place they hold among the various groups.

Table XII is based on the per cent. of the cases with whom the belief in God, the personality of Christ and the doctrine of immortality are vital factors in life. For gross results the last line of the table shows that the belief in God plays a relatively large part, and

Table XII.

Showing some facts in regard to the belief in God, Christ and Immortality.

Groups According to Line of Growth.	God.		Christ.		Immortality.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Gradual growth,	41%	33%	27%	19%	14%	20%
Faith reconstructed after doubt,	27	39	10	20	10	13
In process of reconstruction,	5	11	1	1	0	1
Still negative,	2	1	1	1	2	1
Total,	75%	86%	39%	41%	24%	35%

the belief in immortality a relatively small part in religious conviction; belief in the personality of Christ is intermediate. The first and second lines show that these doctrines are more vital among the gradual growth cases than among those who have reconstructed their faith, with the exception of the belief in God and Christ

among the males. Lines two and three seem to show that the belief in God is the most central after the reconstruction of faith.

Table XIII was made in order to see whether or not these beliefs seemed to vary in prominence among the different age-groups. The table shows the per cent. of the number in each age-group with whom the beliefs were vital. Following along the lines from

TABLE XIII.

Showing the potency of the belief in God, Christ and Immortality for different ages.

BELIEF IN		AGE.				
		16–19	20–23	24–29	30–39	40 or over.
God.	Female,	69%	94%	81%	94%	70%
	Male,		67	70	100	100
Christ.	Female,	28	56	37	59	40
	Male,		50	41	31	39
Immortality.	Female,	23	25	19	33	35
	Male,		17	29	56	33

left to right, we see a little tendency for the numbers to increase in the cases of the beliefs in God and immortality, and a slight tendency to decrease after 20 in the case of the belief in Christ. The most marked progression is in the line for males in the belief in God and immortality. That is, there is some evidence from the table that the belief in God and immortality is a more potent factor in life as years increase.

2. *Religious Feelings.* More fruitful are the facts on feeling. Grouping the instances according to likenesses and differences, they fall principally into five groups, which are illustrated below.

(a) The Sense of Dependence. *F.* "I lost myself in the recognition of Supreme Power and Love." *F.* "Feel my weakness and unworthiness, and long for more strength." *F.* "Something in me makes me feel myself a part of something bigger than I that is controlling." *M.* "I feel a dependence on, and an intimate relation to, a power not myself." *M.* "I have no confidence in myself or anything but God." *M.* "Have completely submitted to God's way."

(b) Reverence, Gratitude and Love. *F.* "Have a reverential sense of something beyond and above us." *F.* "Have such an awed feeling of reverence when in church." *F.* "The love of God is deeply rooted in my heart." *M.* "Have a deep love of God, which I think is growing deeper." *M.* "My feeling toward God is that of a son grateful for blessings."

(c) Oneness with God, Nearness to God, Divine Companionship, etc. *F.* "Have often a consciousness of a divine presence, and sweet words of comfort come to me." *F.* "Felt the personality of Jesus in me as Life, Force, Divinity." *F.* "Have a sense of the presence of a loving God." *M.* "I have heightened experiences, when God seems very near." *M.* "Have a sense of a spiritual presence in the world." *M.* "My soul feels itself alone with God, and resolves to listen to His voice alone in the depths of spirit."

(d) Faith and Trust. *F.* "Each year my faith is stronger and richer." *F.* "I have unquestioned assurance that what is pure, honorable and enlightened is best in harmony with the frame of things, and I need not see how." *F.* "When I pray a sense of love and trust comes over me." *F.* "I do not understand, but I believe God." *M.* "After getting to work for Christ, my faith took strong hold."

(e) Blessedness, Joy, etc. *F.* "When in the hills I desire nothing, fear nothing, but just exult in the reality of being." *F.* "Religious services always make me feel solemn, yet joyous." *F.* "Communion affects me deeply, I seem to be very near the gates of heaven." *M.* "Often at church my heart heaves with emotion, and finds an outlet in tears." *M.* "It has been a delight to do God's work." *M.* "Have had pleasure in doing for my fellow-men that which will make them nobler and better."

(f) Rest, Peace, etc. *F.* "I feel rest and security of soul." *F.* "I rest in the eternal goodness." *F.* "I cling to the idea of God because I find it a comfort in distress." *F.* "After communion and baptism a purer feeling goes with me through the day." *M.* "Thoughts are peaceable."

(g) There are several others which are scarcely prominent enough to form groups. These illustrate some of them: *F.* "I yearn to realize more of the Infinite." *M.* "Have a great hungering for personal purity." *M.* "I feel independent of the world and superior to fate." *F.* "Religion would mean nothing to me without the perception of the goodness and beauty of nature." *M.* "The finest qualities in human nature and the finest scenery make me say, 'Glory to God!'" *F.* "Am filled with emotions which come from contemplating the highest good I can conceive." The feelings quoted are seen to be aspiration, contemplation, sense of beauty and sublimity, sense of freedom, and hope.

A few profess to be lacking in religious feeling. *M.* "Am generally indifferent." *F.* "I never seem to get up the lively experience I strive for." *F.* "I have no heightened experiences, and cannot understand why people in books have them."

The absolute and relative prominence of the above groups is shown in Table XIV, as nearly as frequency of occurrence in the records will determine it. The numbers are the per cents. of those that discussed their present attitude who experienced these various feelings. They stand in the table in the order of frequency.

TABLE XIV.

Showing the absolute and relative prominence of religious feelings.

FEELINGS.	FEMALE. Per cent. of cases.	MALE. Per cent. of cases.
Dependence,	27	36
Reverence,	25	37
Oneness with God, Christ, etc.,	27	29
Faith,	17	23
Blessedness,	13	13
Peace,	7	4
Unclassified,	14	20
None.	5	1

The sense of dependence stands at the head. This accords with the tendency since Schleiermacher to define religion as the sense of dependence and freedom. The freedom side of the definition seldom finds justification in the records before us,—at least explicitly. But if one were setting about to define religion, which is none of our purpose here, it would have to be borne in mind that several other feelings are about as prominent as dependence. Reverence, which almost never appears in childhood religion, stands almost at the head in adult life. Oneness with God or Christ and trust are prominent in both Table XIV and Table II. Peace and blessedness are also frequent in adult life, but seldom appear in the records of childhood religion. Dependence in Table XIV appears to correspond somewhat to credulity, and the tendency of childhood to *use* God in Table II. A careful comparison of these two tables seems to show that the constant elements from childhood to adult life are dependence, the sense of oneness and faith. Fear is transformed, perhaps, into reverence. The childish familiarity with God is also transformed into reverence doubtless, which helps to change fear into blessedness and peace. Peace and blessedness would appear to follow naturally on the unrest of adolescence. Only a small part of the reverence group of feelings consisted of love which had any definite object. Love has become so complex and abstract, apparently, that it has taken the form of contemplation and reverence. Some suggestions of how these same feelings vary with age is given in the next table.

Table XV is based on the per cent. of those in each year-group who give the various feelings. Its significance is in the general

TABLE XV.

Showing how religious feelings vary with age.

FEELINGS.	AGE.									
	16-19		20-23		24-29		30-39		40 and over.	
	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.
Dependence,	13		27	19	27	50	33	41	50	37
Reverence.	22		22	23	44	50	22	41	20	37
Oneness with God,	20		22	19	33	16	27	35	40	47
Faith,	6		33	5	22	22	11	29	30	37
Blessedness,	11		11	5	5	0	22	0	15	11
Peace,	9		0	5	5	0	0	0	15	11
Unclassified,	6		11	14	27	27	11	29	20	11
None,	9		0	5	0	0	5	0	5	0
Total,	89		128	91	167	186	128	194	190	195

increase of the numbers from left to right. The most distinct increase with age is in dependence, reverence, oneness with God, and faith. The last line which gives totals of the columns shows in the most convenient way the general increase. The numbers increase pretty constantly with age. They seem to show that *in ad-*

olescence there are comparatively few specific religious feelings, and that these increase constantly with age. This probably does not mean that these feelings are not present in youth. The facts of adolescence, as we have seen, show that it is tossed by every kind of feeling. A truer interpretation, doubtless, is that not until as late as the period of reconstruction of the religious life, do the feelings become differentiated and take shape as specific, distinct feelings.

It will be noticed that the most rapid increase in the totals in the table is in earlier years. They would form good curves, whose rapid rise is up to and within the year group, 24 to 29. The one for females would drop between 30 and 40, and rise again beyond 40, while the one for males would increase slowly after 30. This falls in line with what we saw in other ways under the period of reconstruction, and helps to show that late adolescence is an intensely formative period, and that the life tends to take on its peculiar character by, say, the 30th year.

The number of the doubt and reconstruction group who gave specific feelings was greater than that of the gradual growth group by as much as the ratio of 10 to 7. This is just about the inverse ratio of the number with whom the beliefs in God, Christ and immortality were vital parts of religion. That is, *those whose growth has been uneventful are more apt to describe their religious attitude in terms of belief; while those with whom religion has once become objective, and faith has been reconstructed, are more apt to describe it in terms of feeling.* This bears out our previous conclusion that the process of reconstruction consists essentially in coming to make religion immediate and lived from within.

Ideals.

The answers to the question, "What would you now be and do if you realized all your ideals of a higher life?" are, perhaps, one of the surest criteria of the trend of the adult life, granting that hopes, purposes and inspirations are at all possible of realization. This section is a simple picture of that toward which persons strive, and that, on the other hand, from which they have grown, as shown in childhood faults.

The ideals fell into several headings, more or less distinct, which are illustrated below:

1. Helpfulness to others: *F.* "Would be infinitely more charitable and unselfish." *F.* "Would bring great happiness to all with whom I am brought in contact." *F.* "Would like to do favors for people, even those I do not care for." *M.* "Would make others happy by administering to their needs." *M.* "Have a sincere desire to be of use, in an intellectual way, to alleviate mankind." *M.* "Would work with God to bring it about that 'good may fall at last to all.'"

2. Self-perfection: *F.* "Where once I said, 'I want to be good,' I now say, 'I want to develop, improve, grow strong.'" *F.* "My one motive is to grow, not especially spiritually, but every way." *F.* "Would live an honest, upright, beautiful, sincere life." *M.* "I would build up a pure and unselfish character." *M.* "Would be so pure and true that all who saw my life would want to be like it."

3. (*a*) To be one with God; (*b*) to love and serve God: *F.* "Would find God in every part of His universe." *F.* "Would grow nearer God by every thought and action." *F.* "I would be a joyful channel for the heavenly breath." *M.* "I would get more and more in harmony with God's laws." *M.* "Would fulfill God's purpose in me as a child of His."

(*b*) *F.* "Would think of God, and do good for His glory." *F.* "I would do what God desires." *M.* "Have a deep desire to promote God's work." *M.* "Would love God and serve Him better."

4. Self-abnegation: *F.* "I would forget self entirely, and spend life in an unobtrusive way." *F.* "Would give up everything for others, and not count anything dear for the sake of doing good." *F.* "Would be simpler, thinking less and less of self and living more and more objectively." *M.* "Would lead a life of self-denial." *M.* "Utter abandonment of self for the welfare of others." *M.* "To overcome the imperfections of youth, to renounce worldly ambition, and to attain a self-sacrificing life."

5. Christ: *F.* "My highest aim is to follow Christ's teachings." *F.* "I am trying to follow Christ's life as nearly as I can in all its glorious self-abnegation, its wondrous purity and marvelous helpfulness." *F.* "I would be perfect as Christ is perfect." *M.* "Have no definite ideal aside from Christ."

6. Self-expression: *F.* "Would write a book like Thomas à Kempis, or Helen Hunt's 'Ramona.'" *F.* "Would be a tower of strength to the suffering about me." *F.*, 16. "My ideal is to be a woman of thirty, beautiful in form and feature; to have wonderful power with my voice; be very rich, and use all my wealth for doing good." *M.* "I would have a wide sphere of influence, provided the influence be for good. I desire to be loved, but am willing to be hated."

7. To know: *F.* "My ideal is to ascertain truth." *F.* "To ground my faith on known laws." *F.* "Would find all possible knowledge." *M.* "A love of knowledge and passionate zeal for the right are central in my life." *M.* "Am a lover of science, and am still striving to reach truth." *M.* "My highest purpose is to know nature, to be true to it, and to utilize it."

8. Self-interest: *F.* "To be joined hereafter to those who have gone on before." *F.* "To live so that people will think of me as having helped other people."

9. Specific virtues: Among these are mentioned the attainment of meekness, patience, sobriety, justice, honesty, cheerfulness, purity, self-control, etc.

10. Abstract and unclassified: *F.* "Would have heaven primary in my thoughts." *F.* "My ideal is the 13th chapter of I. Corinthians." *M.* "I am realizing my ideal in preparing for the ministry. My ideal is organic, pervading life in its totality."

The absolute and relative value of each of these groups, as shown by per cents., is given in Table XVI. The numbers represent the per cent. of all the persons giving ideals who mention the various ones.

Foremost of all the ideals is helpfulness to others. It is mentioned nearly twice as often as any other one. In the record of childhood faults, selfishness is greater than any other item among the girls, and stands second among the boys. Taking all the faults which may be classed as distinctly egoistic, such as jealousy, anger, covetousness, pride, stealing, and the like, we find them to foot up 70 per cent. among the girls, and 72 per cent. among the boys, of all the childhood faults mentioned. These facts point to the conclusion that the tidal wave of life is away from self-interest toward finding one's life in others. This is still further emphasized by the prominence which self-abnegation has among the ideals. Self-interest, on the contrary, appears only in about 3½ per cent. of the cases. Combining all these facts it is clear that *the most marked feature of religious growth, as shown by the childhood faults and the ideals of adult life, is that the trend of life is away from egoism toward*

TABLE XVI.

Showing the absolute and relative prominence of certain ideals.

IDEALS.	FEMALES.	MALES.
Helpfulness to others,	65	52
Harmony with God,	20	19
To love and serve God,	18	9
Self-perfection.	29	39
Self-abnegation,	20	12.5
Christ,	14	18
Self-expression,	10	11
To know,	6	16
Self-interest,	3	14
Specific virtues,	32	27
Unclassified,	19	16

altruism. This coincides also with what we found to be the central thing in conversion.

Self-abnegation among the ideals is set off against self-assertion and self-indulgence, which are very prominent among the childhood faults. Sexual temptations stand first among the evils from which the boys have grown, or are striving still to grow. Other forms of the faults opposed to self-abnegation are drinking, stubbornness, sauciness, lying, willfulness, revengefulness,and the like, and ill-temper, which stands second among the girls in the list of childhood faults. Self-abnegation seems at first directly to oppose self-perfection,which stands third in prominence among the ideals. It probably represents the necessity for lopping off and plucking out exaggerated and harmful lines of self-activity, which make the highest self-perfection impossible. So that self-perfection becomes closely allied to self-expression, and both are closely bound up with self-abnegation. Self-perfection has also its direct opposites among the childhood faults in laziness, moroseness, pouting, shyness, etc. As the quotations above suggested, the ethics of evolution is deeply ingrained in many of the subjects. The facts show that *one marked aspect of growth is the denial of self along wrong lines, and the perfection of self along right lines.*

The item second in prominence among the ideals is that which involves a harmonious relationship between self and God. We saw, also, that the sense of oneness with God was one of the most common religious feelings. The quotations show that the ideal, as found in Christ, is closely akin to this in which the term God is used, in that all lines of possible attainment are felt to converge in Him. We saw in Table II the intimacy of the relation between the child and God; and that the belief in God was the last thing to be reasoned away by the males in adolescence. But the facts of religious feeling showed how the feelings of mature life had become more complex and abstract, and that the relation of the person to his surroundings had become more immediate and spiritualized. We saw how, during adolescence, the person became estranged from his surroundings, and looked at everything objectively; but that he came finally to apperceive the world phenomena, to feel

their worth, and to live them from within. We see among the ideals a culmination of this tendency. The elements of harmony and oneness are involved in love and service, in the submission of will and obedience, which were shown in the quotations. The same thing is doubtless involved, too, in helpfulness to others, which we found to be so prominent among the ideals. In short, we see that *one of the central tendencies in growth is to realize the sense of oneness and harmony with all the world-forces and institutions, and to feel oneself an organic part of the world-life.*

The Significance of the Facts Before Us.

This is a matter, largely, for each to interpret for himself. In the process of organizing the details, they have seemed now and then to become transparent, and to furnish glimpses into the operation of spiritual forces. These have already been hinted here and there throughout the articles. This brief section is only an attempt to pull in the threads a little closer, and to make the details more organic.

We find that in gradual growth, as in conversion, the clearest terms in which religious development expresses itself are those of egoism and altruism. The end attained by spiritual growth is fundamentally that the person comes to live in some larger life outside himself. The child emerges from the unknown sea, bringing with him racial tendencies. Among these is the brute instinct of self-preservation, showing itself in anger, sensitiveness, jealousy, and the like—faults which must be outgrown. The child at first appears comparatively helpless. Everything goes to contribute to the nucleus of a self. It is in a receptive attitude towards its surroundings and dependent on them. Throughout early life, the child is held in the lap of society as at first in that of its mother. By the end of youth, however, the person must have become an organic part of the social whole, a positive factor in it, and find his life in actively contributing to it. Instead of remaining passive in the hands of the unconscious world-forces about him, he now recognizes himself as part of a larger spiritual world to which he is subject, and he finds life only by fitting into an eternal plan. He comes to feel himself in harmony with the spiritual life about him, and responds to it with the feeling of faith, love, reverence and dependence. Self-interest becomes transformed into love of God.

The child is not simply receptive. It is a centre through which racial instincts express themselves. The sea of feeling out of which it is born is constantly breaking through the nucleus of a self. As the physical organism of the child is full of automatic movements, so the spiritual nature bursts forth as aimless will; as spontaneous activity and as emotional insight. The child, as a fresh centre of activity, has its own individual peculiarities, and is ready to function in any one of an indefinite number of directions. But the standard of activity is already set. He is born into a system of things which law and custom have made habitual and fixed and strong. If the person acts in line with convention, he adds to the conserving interests of society. He may never awaken, and be ballast or dead lumber. If his line of self-expression is slightly divergent with custom, it may result in friction, but withal add to the enlargement and enrichment of human experience. If the person becomes directly antagonistic to the social whole or the world life, he must either bide his time or be lopped off from society, or, finally, surrender his will to that of the whole.

The essential thing in coming to live in harmony with the universal life is not simply a matter of the right direction of the expenditure of energy, nor of self-surrender. The primary requisite is that the person shall apperceive religious truth; feel for himself its inherent worth; make it his own by coming to live it from within. At first the person is held in the straight-jacket of social custom, which habit has made reflex, mechanical and unconscious. Toward adolescence new powers begin to function. The youth begins to reason and judge and analyze, or, after unreflecting activity, to stop in disappointment. Everything is judged in terms of his own consciousness. The customs about him appear lifeless and meaningless. The available energy is largely used for physical growth. Consequently the ability to execute falls behind the power to appreciate. The youth finds himself a mere observer of the customs about him. They seem strange and external to him. The story of adolescence, as we have seen, is, consequently, one of continual doubts and questionings, storm and stress of feeling, striving after something out of reach, independence, willfulness, and even reaction and revolt. Religious feelings disappear, and in their stead the framework of religion, goodness, truth and beauty rises into prominence. Finally, after some years of striving, struggling, analyzing, building, following up bits of insight, the truth dawns, the feelings come into play to give it worth and sanction. Usually, the individual hold on truth is recognized to be the same, essentially, as that which all men possess, yet unlike that of any one, because it is an immediate revelation to one's deepest consciousness. It is the heart and essence of that which was form and observance in childhood. The person becomes at last a sympathizer with the world wisdom, a coöperator in social institutions, and enters into real fellowship with the divine. Religion is now lived from within.

The course pursued in attaining a vital hold on religion, we found to be a matter, in part, of temperament. If the vitality is low when the individual point of view begins to develop and set itself against convention, there is paralysis of the will, pain and distress. If the health endowment is great and energy high, there is stubborn resistance, doubt and reaction. Given the latter conditions, together with a sanguine temperament, and we have the youth who builds his own system and sets it against any or all the rest. The number of variations which different temperaments combined with various conditions of environment can produce, are indefinite.

Religious awakenings come most frequently, we have seen, at about the age of puberty. That is the period of greatest bodily readjustment. There springs up suddenly a whole series of new physical adaptations, which are as marked in the nervous system, perhaps, as in any part of the body. It is clearly the time, biologically, when one enters into deep relation with racial life through the birth of the reproductive instinct. There comes the possibility of full coöperation in social life through the door of the family. The new physical birth naturally brings with it the dawning of all those spiritual accompaniments which are necessary to the fullest social life.

The immediate inference from the coincidence of these two groups of phenomena is that the religious life is closely bound up with the reproductive instinct,—that it is a direct result of it, or an irradiation of it through the family, clan, society and world. The facts show that, while such an inference contains a grain of truth, it is not a correct statement of the case. The answers to the definite question on this point were usually very frank. In no instance

was the reproductive instinct admitted to be helpful to spiritual attainment, nor was the religious life described in terms of it. Love, as a religious feeling, occurs among the cases studied, more often among males than females—18% of males and 10% of females. There is no case in which the matter is discussed but that regards the instinct in question as a hindrance to the spiritual life and a thing to be curbed. There is no doubt that, biologically, the generative function is primal. But it seems to have been entirely superseded as a direct factor in spiritual growth by other elements. As society has developed, the number of units in the social complex which are directly connected with the personal life has become so great in comparison with those immediately involved in the propagation of the race that they in themselves form a centre of reference for individual conduct. The person becomes responsible to society instead of to his own feelings. The complications of industry and trade and government establish rights and duties which become more potent and absorbing than those growing out of the generative function. The reproductive instinct sinks, in comparison, into limited activity, and the person finds it necessary to curb it in order to attain the fullest spiritual development. Consequently, we have seen, during adolescence, when religious feelings disappear and there is a chance to sift the spiritual life to its last elements, the most prominent thing there was duty standing out clear and strong. There was also the truth-seeking spirit, which is doubtless a residue from man's contact with nature—his necessity for understanding it, and the satisfaction of comprehending it. The appreciation of external nature was probably in itself as much the origin of the sense of beauty that we found persisting through adolescence as the sexual life has been. In short, we find that during adolescence the reproductive instinct is held in abeyance, while the sense of goodness, of truth and of beauty which have superseded it, rise into prominence as the real roots of religion. *The sexual instinct, which continues healthy and strong to conserve biological ends, has, from a spiritual standpoint, become a mere incident in growth.* It is natural that spiritual insight should come at the time of greatest physical readjustment.

We are in a position now to see something of the relation between conversion and gradual growth experiences. We have found that the preconversion phenomena of sense of sin, feeling of incompleteness, anxiety, unrest, estrangement from God, doubts, etc., are not the result of religious agitation alone, but that they come naturally in the process of adolescent growth. A comparison of Table V in the "Study of Conversion" and Table V in this article will show that the feelings before conversion and the usual ones of adolescence are about the same feelings, and in about the same proportion, but more brief and intense in the conversion cases.

That which was uppermost in consciousness at the critical moment in conversion was described in these terms, given in the order of frequency: Sudden awakening, the sense of forgiveness, the sense of oneness with God, public confession, self-surrender, divine aid, and determination. The first of these, spontaneous awakenings, is the same thing in an exaggerated form which we have found so common in adolescence. The sense of oneness with God we saw to be one of the most common results of gradual growth. When present in conversion it may signify an anticipation of the experiences which usually follow the change of heart. Self-surrender and determination were two of the ways by which the adolescent entered into a positive religious experience. The sense of forgiveness, divine aid and public confession do not appear often in gradual growth. It is to be expected that during the intense ex-

periences of conversion there should be a greater tendency to objectify and personify the psychic influence at work. And there seems to be no reason for interpreting these three items as indicating any real difference between conversion and gradual growth.

In Table XVI the ideals of the female conversion subjects are reduced to the same scale as those of the gradual growth cases, for the purpose of comparing them. There were too few males who answered the question to tabulate. They show very few differences; and some of these are, perhaps, explained by the fact that the conversion subjects were not so old, generally, as the other class. It will be seen, at a glance, that the several items representing the ideals stand in about the same relative proportion, and that they bear the same analysis as that given under the ideals of the gradual growth cases. In short, we see that, judged by the feelings in early adolescence, the essential elements involved in entering the higher life, and the trend of life after entering upon active religious experience, the conversion and gradual growth have many likenesses and few differences. They appear to be slightly different ways of attaining the same end—that is, unselfish sympathy and coöperation, appreciation from within of the worth of religion, and the sense of harmony with and participation in the spiritual life of the world.

If the ends reached by conversion and the less violent process of growth are the same, it is worth our while, then, to ask wherein the real difference lies. In the first place it is clear that the difference is frequently simply that of terminology. We saw that spontaneous awakenings are a very common experience, and that persons familiar with the customary revival methods will describe an awakening as a conversion, while others mention similar experiences as simply an event in the normal course of development. These phenomena are the ones which usually follow what was called the sense of incompleteness, and should be carefully distinguished from conversion proper and from the process of gradual growth, which is marked by doubt, estrangement and reconstruction of faith.

It is in regard to these latter cases that the difficulty comes of finding their relation. Since the accompanying phenomena, the essential processes involved, and the results are similar, we are doubtless safe in saying that conversion is a condensed form of adolescent development. Society seems to have unconsciously recognized the ends to be attained by religious growth, and to have embodied them in the rites of confirmation and conversion. Even among savage races there are the corresponding customs at puberty or soon afterward, of knocking out the teeth, tattooing, circumcision, changing the form of dress, and the like.[1] The essential purpose of all these customs is the initiation of the child into manhood. There is strong evidence, we have seen, that the convert reaches, in some measure, the quality of life that he might have reached by gradually maturing. The method which society uses is to bring into sharp contrast the little world of self in which he has been living and the ideal of love into which he must enter. It brings together all the habits and desires of his former life, which tend to conserve his selfhood, and lumps them as "sin," which he must once for all renounce. It sets in contrast the ideal of perfect goodness, infinite love and complete happiness through self-sacrifice, which are yet far out of reach, but which, through faith, can be attained. It pictures the fatal consequence of his

[1] Daniels: "A Study of Regeneration," this JOURNAL, Vol. VI.

present course, and the possible well being to himself and his kind if he turn his course. The power of public opinion is brought to bear to increase the strain. The force of his emotional nature is brought into activity through eloquence and the rhythm and harmony of music. He once for all renounces his little self and pitches his tent beneath the stars. He passes from his own narrow sphere and becomes a citizen of the world. His ideas converge into an ideal. His feelings are called into play, and he loves and trusts this ideal, and strives toward it. The secret of the realization of this new quality of life may be found in part in the *attitude* of the person. He becomes *professedly* what he aspires to be. "What we long for, that we are for one transcendent moment." He is in a receptive attitude toward all the higher influences about him. At first all the lines of his interest converged in himself; now his life is open Godward. What perfections he has not actually attained are, in a true sense, his sure possession because his course is turned in their direction.

But who can tell what actually transpires in one's consciousness when he turns seriously into communion with his deeper self? Turning to our crude analogy of nerve cells and their connections, which we know to be involved in the character and quality of thinking and feeling, we may get a definite picture, at whatever cost of accuracy. Granting that the highest consciousness is conditioned by the most highly and perfectly organized nervous system, that new ideas involve the functioning of new nerve elements, and that internal and external conditions help to determine these, it is conceivable that during the intense experiences attending conversion, under the heat of the emotional pressure brought to bear, a harmony is struck among these elements which might have taken months or even years to accomplish if one had been left helpless to grope in doubt and uncertainty. The analysis of the cases before us bears out, from the psychic side, this hypothesis, and shows that conversion is to some extent an anticipation of the direction of adolescent development.

The inferences that come directly out of the facts before us, and may increase our wisdom in religious education and in methods of religious work,are so important that they demand a word. One who has followed through the preceding pages will be impressed first of all by the *necessity of using individual methods*. One can scarcely think of a single pedagogical rule in regard to religious training after the end of childhood which might not violate the deepest needs of the person whom it is the purpose to help. The first demand is that the teacher or spiritual leader shall know something of the case he is to deal with,—his training, his temperament and the present trend of his life. It requires careful reading into human nature to know what a person needs and is ripe for;the magic stroke which is to change a child into a man; to know whether he only needs a hazy mind clarified and a struggling spirit calmed, or whether there is a distorted attitude of life which should violently be forsaken; to be certain that the threads of dawning consciousness are being skillfully knit and the tension of feeling symmetrically strung, to set the new life going in the right direction, and tune it to every virtue; to know first of all whether the course of life is not already wisely directed, and gravitating surely and steadily toward what seems to be the goal of spiritual attainment. There is no doubt that the salvation of many a youth who has stuck in the slough of despond, and the conservation of his life-force, is to set him to work, to call out his activities along definite lines, to breathe health and vigor--even physical health—into his nature, to help him feel

the power of the "everlasting yea." Still, we must have patience. Many another may be hopelessly dwarfed if hurried away from seriously facing the doubts that press in on him; may miss the strength and depth and poise that are often professed to have been a sure result of adolescent striving; may be tempted to make a cowardly escape along some narrow course of life, instead of waiting for that revelation which shall fill the whole round of life and call into activity a complete spiritual personality.

A knowledge of the stages of growth will help to escape many of the usual pitfalls in religious education. To be artificially accurate for the sake of clearness we have: Childhood, the seed time, up to 12 or 13; the beginning of youth, the time of germination, in which new life comes in a great wave, at 14 or 15, and its two wavelets, just before and just after the large one; next, youth, the growing time, in which the life forces are being sifted, readjusted and combined; by 24 or 25 the person has worked out a point of view, an individual insight, and has become a positive factor in the religious life of the world. Each stage should be a preparation for the next, so that the person may merge naturally and evenly into a strong, beautiful, spiritual manhood or womanhood.

Another highly desirable thing is that we take into account the different *lines* of growth. Among our Christian churches we have three pretty distinct ideals held up as to the true means of entering the spiritual life. A few denominations emphasize the fact of sin, set against it that of salvation, and insist on a definite, decisive, and more or less momentary change of life. Its ideal is that of *conversion* proper. Another group of denominations have recognized the likelihood of the burst of new life at the beginning of adolescence; they take means to cultivate it, and have established the rite of *confirmation*, which symbolizes the entrance into the new life. The ceremony of confirmation means to take advantage of what we have termed "spontaneous awakenings," and in the conversion study was pointed out as following the "sense of incompleteness." Still a third group of churches hold to the idea that the religious life, as the mental and physical, is a gradual development, and that alone, and have no ceremony to bring about or symbolize the birth into the new life. We have seen in our study that gradual growth experiences usually reach about the same end as the sudden and violent ones. The imperative fact for us here is that all of these three types of growth occur somewhat indiscriminately among the churches holding the three ideals. Certain denominations have caught up and emphasized one aspect of growth, and overlooked others which seem natural and fundamental. The highest results cannot come until organized religious forms seek out nature's way, which is God's, in religious growth, and become so plastic that they can adapt themselves to the laws of the spiritual life which are shown to us through study and experience. To contribute its mite in thus furthering the interests of the spiritual life is the purpose of this research. If a few earnest people coöperate along these lines at the present time as students and subjects, it is possible in the near future to work a higher wisdom over into a deeper religious life.

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